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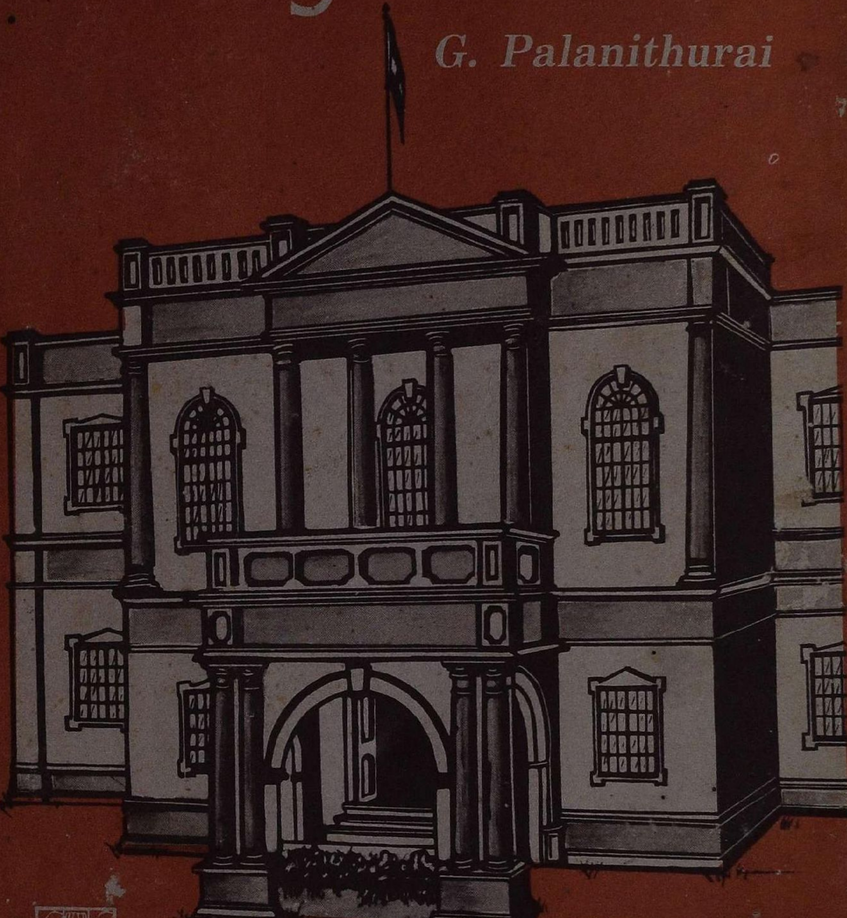
Reaction and Response in Legislature

G. Palanithurai



Annamalai University

REACTION AND RESPONSE IN LEGISLATURE

G. PALANITHURAI

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY
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Dedicated to My
Beloved Parents

S. V. GANAPATHY
and
AMIRTHAM AMMAL

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FOREWORD

Legislative institution have played significant role in socio-political and economic development in most western societies of the world. Despite the percieved decline of legislatures in the first half of the 20th century, recent researches in this area have revealed the latent efficacy of these institutions as goal setting and integrative agencies in the political processes of developing countries as well. Scholars are now arguing that legislatures are functionally adaptable institutions that could perform a variety of functions in a political system. The reorientation in the role of legislatures in modern times have led indirectly to a renewed interest in the study of legislatures.

Dr. Palanithurai's book on "The Role of Political Parties in Tamil Nadu Legislature" is an important contribution in the field of legislative research in India. Based on empirical findings, the book seeks to answer some of the basic questions that arise in the context of political parties, interaction and performance in the legislative institutions with special reference to the case of the legislature of an Indian State. The questions range from the capacity of the political parties to represent problems of their constituents; the instrumentality of such representation to the policy making: the way the demands are articulated by the politicel parties and the kind of methods employed by them. Interalia, he has also attempted to enquire into the variations, if any in the performance of political parties, in case a State Legislature is controlled by a National Party or a Regional Party at different periods. This analysis extends

to two specific issues of education and public health. His conclusions indicate that political parties show minimal interest in representing the problems in the legislature, and are not even fully aware of the articulation techniques and methods. He rightly concludes that there is no relationship between the representation of the legislatures and the decisions and policies of the executive.

Dr. Palanithurai has done a commendable work in understanding such a study involving some painstaking field investigations and reforms methodology. I am sure that these preliminary investigations would further stimulate the scholars in the field to undertake more such researches in the context of the central and various state legislatures in India.

University of Delhi
Delhi.
June 1989.

(R. B. Jain)
Professor and Head Department
of Political Science

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This study is mainly based on my Ph.D., thesis entitled "The Role of Political Parties in Tamil Nadu Legislature," This thesis submitted to Annamalai University in October, 1983, was approved in 1984 for the award of Ph.D., degree. For the successful completion of this work, many institutions and individuals are responsible and I express my heartfelt thanks to all.

Fisrt I place on record my sense of gratitude to my Professor S. Bhaskaran, a moving spirit working in me, for his unabating encouragement to step in to the frontier of knowledge. In the same spirit I express my sincere thanks to Dr. R. Elango for his unremitting help in all my academic pursuits. My thanks are also due to my teacher Dr. A. Shanmugam for his constant encouragement in my academic endeavour. Dr. R.B. Jain Professor of Political Science, University of Delhi suggested me the guidelines to revise my thesis for publication. Moreover he has given foreward to this book. My sincere thanks are due to him. Dr. R. Dakshinamoorthy, Dr. C. N. Subramanian, Dr. V. Shanmugam and Dr. E. Williams deserve appreciation and thanks for their scrutiny of my manuscript. My colleagues, by their unremitting love and affection encouraged me to revise the thesis for publication. I express my warm sentiments to them. Equally my wife Mrs. Mala, by her patience and co-operation helped me to complete this work for which I record my thanks.

I thank the authorities of Annamalai University for having given me permission to publish this thesis. I thank Sabanayagam Printers for their neat execution of this work and the officials of the Annamalai University press for their cover designs.

ABBREVIATION

General

SSLC	—	Secondary School Leaving Certificate
T.B.	—	Tuberculosis
UNICEF	—	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
WHO	—	World Health Organisation

Table

AM	—	Adjournment motion
CA	—	Calling attention
CE	—	Collegiate education
Com	—	Communist party of India
Cong	—	Congress party
CPI	—	Communist party of India
CPM	—	Communist party of India (Marxist)
DEP	—	Discussion on educational pattern
DFYP	—	Discussion on Five Year Plan
DGA	—	Discussion on Governor's address
DMAB	—	Discussion on Madras appropriation bill
DMK	—	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
DNCM	—	Discussion on no confidence motions
DS	—	Discussion on Supplementary budget

DSA	—	Discussion on Supplementary budget and appropriation bill
DSAN	—	Discussion on Supplementary budget, appropriation bill and no confidence motion.
DSAP	—	Discussion on Supplementary budget. appropriation bill and five year plan,
DSANP	—	Discussion on Supplementary budget, appropriation bill, no confidence motion and five year plan.
DSB	—	Discussion on Supplementary budget
DTAB	—	Discussion on Tamil Nadu appropriation bill
DUB	—	Discussion on University bill
E	—	Education
OE	—	Outbreak of Epidemics
FADC	—	Food Adulteration and Drug Control
FB	—	Forward bloc
GDB	—	General discussion on budget.
HF	—	Hospital facillities
I	—	Independents
IHM	—	Indegenous and homeopathy medical system
IF	—	Institutional facilities
LTB	—	Leprosy and Tuberculosis
ME	—	Medical education
ML	—	Muslim League
MP	—	Members participated.
MPSM	—	Medical personnel and Skill-mix
MR	—	Members represented

P	—	Particular articulation
PAE	—	Pattern of Education
PE	—	Primary Education
PH	—	Public health
PHC	—	Primary health care
PSP	—	Praja Socialist Party
Q	—	Number of questions asked
R	—	Republican party
S	—	Specific articulation
SE	—	Secondary education
SP	—	Students' problems
Socia	—	Socialist party
SSP	—	Samyuktha Socialist party
Swa	—	Swatantra party
T	—	Tamilarasukkazhagam
TMP	—	Total Members participated
TP	—	Total participation
TP	—	Teachers' problems
TQ	—	Total number of questions asked
VOD	—	Voting of demands for grants
WSS	—	Water supply and sanitation
( )	—	Figures in the parantheses in all the tables denote the percentage to total participation of members in the discussions.

CHAPTER I

LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONING

Legislature or Parliament is an authoritative body and it varies in its composition, powers and functions from country to country and time to time. There are different types of legislature in the world[1] and Indian legislature comes under the category of reactive legislature This classification is based on the nature of functioning of the legislatures. In the recent past the legislature has assumed several responsibilities and hence has to perform a variety of functions in the political system from evolving policy to approving decisions.[2] Consequently, the legislative institutions have been growing with enormous powers to discharge the new responsibilities endowed as a result of modernization and industrialisation. Nevertheless, it is felt that the legislative institutions are declining[3] and it is further asserted that the legislative institutions are no doubt declining not in power but in efficiency.[4] In this context more number of scholars pursued their academic interest in legislative behaviour to probe into the functioning of the legislative institutions. It is against this background a study has been undertaken.

The functions of parliament or legislature in a democratic country lie in integrating the role of political parties in the legislature or parliament.[5] Hence, political parties are a powerful mechanism, through which all representative functions are carried on in the authoritative bodies.[6] Any meaningful study on legislature is possible only from the perspective of political parties.

The problem

The present study attempts to analyse the role of political parties in Tamil Nadu[7] Legislature. The representatives in a legislature represent the people through various political parties and in turn political parties direct the representatives for their functioning in the respective forum. Political parties have two main functions, namely interest articulation and interest aggregation in a democratic form of government[8]. Interest articulation is "the process by which individuals and groups make demands upon the political decision makers",[9] and interest aggregation is "the function of converting demands into general policy alternatives."[10] This study seeks to analyse the interest articulation of the political parties in Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly from 1962 to 1970. Two important issues, namely public health and education have been selected to illustrate the interest articulation of the political parties. This work hypothesises that the members of the political parties in the Legislative Assembly influence the decisions, policies, money allocations and execution of policies and programmes.

Theoretical Framework

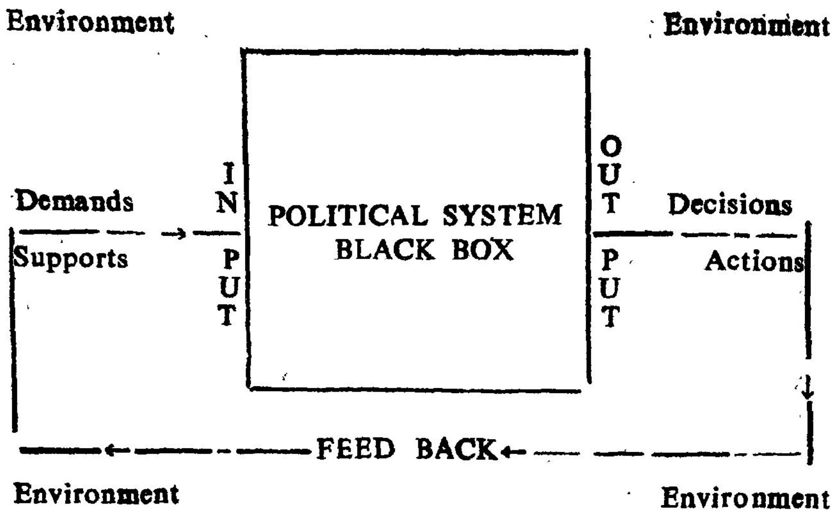
The present study tries to explain the representations in the legislature and the response of the authorities to the representations. So this study involves the decisions and policies adopted in the legislature on the issues on which the representatives expressed their views. Thus this study is concerned with the relation between the views expressed and decisions made in the legislature. This research problem is analysed against a theoretical background.

Many theories have been propounded to analyse policies and decisions[11] But all those theories are useful only in

explaining the public policy and decision making. Their emphasis is on policy and decision[12] but not on the system. But, in this study, the emphasis is on the system (Legislature) and policies and decisions arrived at in the system. For explaining the working of the system, it is appropriate to adopt David Easton's "Framework for Political Analysis".[13] This systems theory is useful in explaining the process of the system in formulating policies and decisions in response to input.[14] Hence the decision to adopt David Easton's frame work in the present study.

Eastonian Model

David Easton, in his three works,[15] tries to establish an empirical theory in a new perspective. He defines political system as a set of interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated.[16] Hence, this study deals with all kinds of activities involved in policy making process and effecting process which constitute the political system. He explains how this political system functions in the social system for which he developes a few key concepts. The fundamental concepts are System, Environment, Input, Demand, Support, Withinput, Output and Feedback.



Source : A Simplified Model of a Political System. David Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis*, p. 112.

David Easton defines the political system as a sub-system working in the social system. The political system is isolated from its environments. "Environments are those aspects of a society that fall outside the boundaries of a political system and it can be generalised by stating that they consist of all the other sub-systems of the society. Environment embraces the social as well as the physical environment."[17] The environment consists of the intrasocietal environmental elements such as personality, ecological, biological and social systems (Social system comprises cultural system, social structure, economic system, demographic system and other sub-systems) and extrasocietal environmental elements such as the international political system, international ecological system, international social system (International social system consists of international cultural system, international social structure, international economic system, international demographic system and other sub-systems). But the existence

of a political system depends on the environment of a society. To make the political system function 'Input and output' work as linkage variables. They connect environment with political system and vice versa.[18] "Inputs as summary variables that concentrate and reflect everything in the environment which is relevant to political stress".[19] Input can be defined as any event external to the system that alters, modifies or affects the system in any and every possible way.[20] Input consists of two kinds of indicators, 'demand' and 'support'. "Demands are articulated statements, directed towards the authorities, proposing that some kind of authoritative allocation ought to be undertaken."[21] Support is "the positive encouragement of sentiments of legitimacy and compliance, the acceptance of a notion of the existence of a common good transcending the particular good of any particular individuals or groups, or the kindling of deep feelings of community."[22] Another concept, 'with-input' is treated as something apart from input and for logical consistency and maintaining the boundary it is kept as a separate entity from 'input'. There are influences which occur within the system itself which are called 'withinput.'[23] Authoritative allocation of values are called 'output'.[24] 'Feedback' is a regulating mechanism which communicates the conditions of environment in relation with the output to the system.

It is clear that the concepts defined above complete the full view of the theory. Here it is necessary to describe the 'flow model' of the theory for a fuller understanding as well as the utility of the theory. Normally environments generate human needs and the human needs are articulated in the authoritative forum as 'Input'. And the inputs flow from the environment into the black box for conversion process where another kind of input called "withinput' influences

the conversion process within the system itself. The authorities respond to those inputs while allocating values, i.e. output. Responses to the output in the environment are channelled through the feedback loop to the political system again. Thus this process of conversion takes place repeatedly in the Political System and this dynamic process ultimately reaches the goal. In the present study two concepts i.e. Input and Output are used. The legislator's demands in the legislature (Input) and the authoritative decisions, policies and money allocations (Output) in response to the demands are taken for analysis.

Operationalization

In this study, the two concepts Input and Output are taken to explain the relationship between the representations of the representatives in the legislature and the authoritative decisions, policies and money allocations on the chosen issues. Legislature is viewed as a system in which the authoritative decisions are taken for a state. So legislature is the supreme authoritative body in a political system where the political parties do their function in shaping the policies and decisions. Political parties have a dual role in the society. One is outside the authoritative body and the other inside it.

Here the question is, What role do the political parties play in the legislature in shaping policies, decisions and money allocations on education and public health? In the legislature, political parties represent the demands of the people on education and public health and thus the representations are treated as 'Input'. The decisions, policies, and money allocations made in the legislature for education and public health are treated as 'output'. The views of the

executive authorities and bureaucrats on the issues are treated as 'withinput' which the investigator cannot analyse.[25] The relationship between Input and Output in the legislature is analysed in the present study.

Analysis

Data are analysed at three levels to test the hypotheses. The first level of analysis would explain the numerical strength of the legislators in each party who participated in the discussion on education and public health matters in Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly. This would reveal the level of participation of members of political parties on the issues.

The second level of analysis involves the form of representations. While analysing the forms of representations, the available forms of representation in the legislative assembly as enumerated in clause (1) of Article 208 of the Indian Constitution are taken into account.[26] The forms are questions, discussions and motions. These forms are classified into two divisions. The first division includes short notice questions, calling attention notices, adjournment motions, discussions for short duration, no-day-yet-named motions, motions expresing want of confidence in the Ministry and discussions on resolutions. All these forms exert great pressure for quick decisions and on urgent matters. The second division consists of starred and unstarred questions, discussion on Governor's address, budget, voting of demand for grants for specific departments. discussion on Appropriation Bill, supplementary budgets, discussion on Five Year Plan proposals and evaluation of Five Year Plan implementation and discussion on specific bills which enlighten and envision the authorities on policy matters. Thus the data are

classified into two divisions within the available constitutional provisions.

The third level of analysis involves the mode of representation. Mode represents the style of articulation. Mode analyses the content. To analyse the content of the representation, Almond and Powell's styles of Articulation are borrowed. Almond and Powell's Comparative Politics, a developmental Approach, classifies the styles into monifest or latent, specific or diffuse, general or particular, instrumental or affective articulations.[27] A manifest interest articulation refers to the explicit formulation of demands and latent articulation expresses the behavioural mood of a group which transmits the demands into political system. In this mode of articulation, it is essential to observe the mood of the representatives which is not possible in this study. All representations are treated as manifest articulation. The second pair of style is specific or diffuse. The specific articulation of demands refers to the clarity of the issue and the degree of specificity in articulating the demand. Contrarily, diffuse articulation means articulating the demands generally without any specification. The third style of articulation, general or particular, is about whether the demand is related to a particular group or class or the general interest. Finally, there is the instrumental articulation or affective articulation. Instrumental style is a form of bargaining with the authorities. Since the ruling party possesses absolute majority in the house, there is no necessity for seeking the support of other parties. Hence, there is no possibility of using this style in Tamil Nadu Legislature. An effective articulation is a simple expression of gratitude, anger and disappointment or hope. The members articulating the demands, support or sometimes oppose the authorities. Hence, the style of instrumental articulation cannot be taken into account.

Thus, for this study, the following styles of articulation are taken for analysis: specific or diffuse, general or particular. Affective articulation is further divided into two divisions called affective opposition and affective support Normally in Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly the ruling party members support every move of the government and opposition party members oppose all the moves of the Government. Sometimes there are deviations and these will be discussed separately. Representations in the Legislative Assembly on public health and education are analysed in terms of the above mentioned procedure.

From the three levels of analysis mentioned above the intensity of the interest articulation of political parties in the Legislative Assembly on Public health and education is assessed.

In the present study, to assess the intensity of representations, three criteria are taken into consideration. They are strength of participation, form of representation and mode of articulation. Firstly, the strength of participation of members in the discussions is assessed in respect of issues in the Legislative Assembly. The strength of participation refers to the number of members participating in the discussions. Secondly, the form of representation is analysed. Generally through discussion on Governor's address, general discussion on budget, voting of demands for grants, no-confidence motions, half an hour discussions, calling attention notices, adjournment motions, questions, etc., members represent the demands of the people. As shown earlier,[28] there are forms like calling attention notices, adjournment motions, no-confidence motions, half an hour discussions, resolutions, etc., which exert pressure on the government. If the members used those forms frequently, it could be treated as intensified representation. Thirdly, the mode of

articulation is taken as another criterion. To evaluate the mode of articulation, speeches are classified. If the members specified both the issue and the area, it can be treated as a full mode of articulation, which helps to intensify the representation. If the members had not specified the area or issue the mode of articulation could be deemed reduced and ineffective. While the members discussed in the policy matters it could be treated as fullmode eventhough the members had not mentioned the area.

To assess the intensity of representation, a scale has been evolved to see whether the intensity is high, medium or low. This scale is exclusively evolved for the present study.[29] This scale is divided into four divisions. They are assigning scores to the strength of participation, the form of representation, the mode of articulation and the questions respectively. The total number of scores fixed in the scale for a year is 200 points. 50 points each are allotted to the strength of participation, form of representation, mode of articulation and questions. 0.5 point is assigned to 1 per cent of participation in the regular discussions. Likewise 0.5 point is allotted to 1 per cent of mode of participation and 0.5 score is assigned to 1 per cent questions. 2 scores are allotted to one unit of calling attention or adjournment motion or charge in the no confidence motion or resolution.[30] This assignment of 2 points to those forms is due to the intensive nature of the form. Totally at all four levels, through the strength of participation, form of representation and mode of articulation and questions, the points come to 200.

If the actual representation lies between 0-50 points, it is deemed 'low' intensity, if it lies between 51-100, it is deemed 'medium' intensity and if it crosses 100 it is deemed

as 'high' intensity. This scoring is for one year. For a term it is calculated for five years.

Notes:

1. Active Legislature, Vulnerable Legislature, Reactive Legislature, Marginal Legislature and Minimal Legislature. Michael L. Mezey, *Comparative Legislatures* Durham: Duke University Press, 1979, p. 36.
2. Ibid., p. 4
3. Lord Bryce, *Modern Democracies* London: Macmillan, 1921.
4. K. C. Wheare, *Legislatures* London: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 234.
5. M. Abel, "Impact of Political Parties on Legislature in *Aspects of Democratic Government and Politics in India*, ed K. R. Bombwell and L. P. Choudhry New Delhi: Atma Ram and Sons, 1968, p. 165; K.V. Vishwanathaiah, "Place and Role of Party whips in Democratic Legislatures in India." Ibid, p. 152.
6. Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their organisation and Activity in the Modern State* London: Methuen and Co, Ltd., 1954, p. 372.
7. Madras State was renamed as Tamil Nadu in 1967.
8. Almond and Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1966, pp. 73, 98.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
11. The Rational Comprehensive Theory, the Incremental Theory, Mixed Scanning Theory, Group Theory, Elite Theory and Functional Process Theory. James E. Anderson, *Public Policy Making* New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975, pp. 10 - 24; Herbert A. Simon, "Political Research: The Decision Making Framework". in *Varieties of Political Theory*, ed. David Easton Englewoodcliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966, p. 15.

12. Decision making involves the choice of an alternative from among a series of competing alternatives and policy is "a purposive course of action followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matters of concern." James E. Anderson, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

13. Michael A. Weinstein, *Systematic Poiltical Theory* Chicago: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1971, pp. 12-23 and James E. Anderson, op. cit., p. 19.

14. Meaning to the term 'Input' will be explained in the next section.

15. David Easton, *The Political System* New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1953; David Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis* Englewoodcliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1965; and David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965).

16. David Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis*, p. 57.

17. David Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis*, pp. 70-71.

18. Ibid., pp. 108-109.

19. Ibid., pp. 113.

20. David Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life*, p. 27.

21. David Easton, *A Framework for Political Analysis*, p. 120.

22. Ibid., p. 125.

23. Ibid., p. 114.

24. Ibid., p. 126.

25. Documents regarding the discussion about the issues by the Ministers and Officials are not published and the investigator has no access to them.

26. Government of Tamil Nadu, *The Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Rules* Madras: Legislative Assembly Department, 1980.

27. Almond and Powell, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1966, pp. 86-88.

28. See analysis section.

29. In assigning scores in the scale, those forms which were used by the members in this study alone are taken into account.

30. This assignment of scores to the form of representation is based on the assumption that 25 units of calling attentions or adjournment motions or resolutions or no confidence motions are deemed high per cent of participation of the members in the effective forms.

CHAPTER - II

NATURE OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR STRENGTH

Nature of Political Parties in Tamil Nadu

During the period under study there were a large number of political parties (National as well as Regional) organised on different socio-economic principles. Among the political parties, Congress, Swatantra, Communist Party of India, Communist Party of India (Marxist), Praja Socialist party, Republican party, Samyukta Socialist party and Forward Bloc were National parties, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam and Tamilarasukkazhagam were regional parties. In Tamil Nadu among the National parties, Congress had its legitimate hold till 1966 on the Government. A regional party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam got elected to power in 1967 and continued its hold till 1975. Here, it is pertinent to give a general description of the nature of political parties in Tamil Nadu.

Indian National Congress

The Congress Party came into being in 1885. This party was instrumental in securing the Independence of India. After Independence, the Congress Party played a different role in free India. In Indian politics since August 1947, the Congress Party was in power at the centre as well as in the states and this monolithic domination continued till 1967.[1] The Congress Party's main objective was to

establish a socialistic pattern of society.[2] The policies of the party were planned approach to economic development, abolition of old social structures like *Zamindari* and *Jahirdari*, creation of Panchayat Raj and co-operative organisation, modernizing agriculture and industrialization. The above mentioned policies were repeatedly emphasized in the election manifestos of the party since 1952.[3] Also, the party emphasized the importance of health and education in socio-economic development in its manifestos.[4]

Swatantra party

The Swatantra party was formed in 1959. The main cause for the formation of Swatantra party was the increasing socialist bias in the Congress Party programme. Rajagopalachari was the chief architect of the party. Under his leadership the Swatantra Party was formed in Madras and it immediately took a national character. After its formation, a large number of minor conservative parties - the Krisikar Lok Party, the Commonweal Party, the Nag Vidharba Andolan, the Janata Party and the Gantantra Parishad, merged with it.[5] The Swatantra Party derived its support mainly from the business community. Rajagopalachari fought with the Congress Party and other left-wing parties to protect the business community,[6] It could be considered a traditional conservative party. Its main aim was to keep India free from the holds of the left front. The avowed mission of the party was "to restore dharma to the country".[7] The Swatantra Party adopted and advocated the anti-nationalization of industries, anti-co-operative farming, free enterprise in economy, giving importance to property rights, abolition of monopoly in marketing, meeting the essential needs of the people and protecting the individual rights and free and compulsory elementary education and Community health as its policy.[8]

Communist Party of India

The Communist Party of India was formed in 1925 and its constitution was formulated in 1927. This party was officially banned in 1934, because the party adopted under-cover methods and involved itself in revolutionary activities. In 1943 the Government lifted the ban on the Communist Party consequent on the support given by the Communist Party to the Government in suppressing the "Quit India" movement. During the formative years of the Independence, that is, roughly from 1948 to 1950, the Communist Party of India tried to strengthen its hold in the South by violent means. To some extent they had strengthened their position,[9] but ultimately they failed to consolidate their position. So the party was forced to change its tactics. In 1958, this party declared at its Amritsar Convention that the Communist Party of India shall strive to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means.[10] But the party faced a severe setback in 1962 election and during the chinese aggression of India. Groupism developed in the party on the issue of chinese aggression. The National Council of the party strongly condemned China for her aggression on India, but a group in the party did not support this move and it resulted in the division of the party into two - The Communist Party of India and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in 1964.

The main objective of the party was the establishment of people's democratic state led by the working class and establishing a socialist order in the country according to the teachings of Marx and Lenin.[11] This party advocated the abolition of landlordism and agrarian reforms. This party was in favour of poor peasants, rural agricultural labourers and other industrial workers.[12] The Communist Party of India stood for rapid industrialization and nationalisation of

key industries and development of cottage industries.[13] The Communist Party demanded a radical change in the education policy and it stood for greater financial allocations for education and the change over to regional languages as the medium of instruction. The party declared that the condition of teachers, especially the primary school teachers must be improved.[14]

Communist Party of India (Marxist)

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) was formed in 1964. The dissidents broke away from the Communist Party of India on the suspicion that the arrest of their left wing leaders in the party during the chinese aggression was engineered by the right wing leaders. The party was not able to maintain its unity because of the presence of a sizable number of workers with extremist tendencies who started revolting against their own party principles and practices. These workers did not believe in the establishment of socialism by parliamentary or peaceful means.[15] This being so, the main objective of the CPI (M) was the establishment of a people's democracy and socialist transformation through peaceful means.[16] It advocated industrialization, nationalization of banks, reduction of taxation and defence expenditure, rapid development of public sector and distribution of lands to the poor peasants. The party stood for compulsory education upto the secondary stage, promotion of women's education and improvement of teachers' conditions and salaries.

Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, popularly called the DMK, a regional political party in Tamil Nadu, was formed in 1949 under the leadership of C. N. Annadurai. The

immediate cause of the formation of the party was the personal difference of views that arose between C. N. Annadurai and E.V. Ramasamy Periyar on the issue of latter's marriage. Another cause attributed was that E.V. Ramasamy Periyar was against his party contesting the elections and entering the legislatures, C. N. Annadurai held an exactly opposite view.[17] But the constitution of the party proclaimed that the immediate cause for the formation of Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was the necessity to project their anti-Brahmin, anti-Hindi and anti-Marwari attitude in an effective way.[18] Unlike the Dravida Kazhagam, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam pursued a moderate policy which attracted the masses to its fold.[19] The DMK party's main planks were: Anti-Hindi agitation (protection and development of Tamil), Anti-Brahmin movement (uplifting non-Brahmins) and promotion of Dravidian culture.[20] The party gradually gained the support of the people through the mass media like cinema[21] and newspapers. But this party was basically organised for the rich and forward non-Brahmins.[22]

In the beginning, the ultimate goal of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was the attainment of a sovereign Independent State of Dravidanadu consisting of Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. But in 1963 the party amended its constitution so as to drop the goal of attaining an Independent sovereign Dravidanadu consequent upon the amendment brought in the parliament making secessionist propaganda an offence. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's cherished ideals were: preserving the language and culture of southern states, protecting the rights and privileges of the states, abolition of horse race, effective enforcement of prohibition, nationalisation of banks and transport.[23]

Other parties

The Socialist Party, the Praja Socialist Party, the Samyuktha Socialist Party, the Forward Bloc, the Muslim League, the Republican Party and the Tamilarasukkazhagam were the minor political parties in Tamil Nadu politics. These political parties contested the elections often in alliance with the major political parties.

The Socialist party, the Praja Socialist party and the Samyuktha Socialist party were founded by those who came out of the Congress at different times.[24] The Socialist party, the Krishak Mazdoor Praja party of Acharya Kripalani and the Forward Bloc were merged in 1953 and named Praja Socialist party, as a result of the realisation of the need to consolidate the socialist forces in the country, but this consolidation did not last long. Ram Manohar Lohia left the party in 1955 and formed his own Socialist party of India. Again in 1964, the Praja Socialist party and the Socialist party were merged into one party called Samyuktha Socialist party, but in 1965, the Praja Socialist party severed its relationship with the Samyuktha Socialist party and became an independent unit.

The Praja Socialist party's aim was to establish a democratic socialist society through peaceful means. This party advocated nationalization of all key industries and it believed in planned economic development.[25] The Samyuktha Socialist party aimed at the creation of a casteless and classless Socialistic society. This party stood for the recognition of private ownership of land and nationalization of key industries, railways, road and air transport.[26] Almost all the principles are the same and the parties were functioning separately due to the difference of opinion among the leaders.

The Forward Bloc was formed by Subash Chandra Bose in 1939 and was banned in 1942 by the then British rulers for its advocacy of armed revolt. The party was resurrected in 1946 with the declaration that the main motto of the party was to create a socialistic pattern of society for which programmes were chalked out based on militant class struggle.[27] This party declared that abolition of Zamindari system, nationalization of key industries and free education upto the secondary stage were the principles of the party.[28]

The Muslim League, a communal party, was formed in 1906 and it aimed at promoting a sense of loyalty among the Indian Muslims towards the British Government to protect the political rights of the Indian Muslims. The Muslim League participated in communal riots and propagated the idea of Pakistan and at last in 1947, it attained its goal with the creation of Pakistan. After these events the party was revived in Madras in 1948. This party stood for creation of friendly feelings among the communities and protection of political, cultural, economic, educational, religious and other legitimate rights of the Muslims. Other small parties such as the Republican party and the Tamilarasukkazhagam were represented by a single member each in the State Legislature. They stood for local interests.

Political Parties in Madras (Tamil Nadu) Legislative Assembly

It is necessary to appraise the political parties' position in the Madras Legislative Assembly during the period of study to understand the party strength in the Assembly by which the relationship of their articulation in the Assembly on different issues can be evaluated. During the period under investigation (1962-1970) the two major political parties, the Congress party and the Dravida Munnetra

Kazhagam gained sufficient strength in the Assembly and popular support and other parties, the Swatantra, the Communist parties, the Socialist parties, the Muslim League, the Forward Bloc, the Republican party and the Tamilarasukkazhagam had got a few seats in the Legislative Assembly with the support of either the Congress or the DMK. And all other parties played a supportive role in Tamil Nadu politics. No one party, other than Congress and DMK, could get one fourth of the total strength in the Assembly. During the first period of study (1962-66) there were only a few parties in the Madras Legislative Assembly, as compared with the second period of study (1967 — 1970).

Table-1 shows the details regarding the seats won and votes secured by the political parties in the 1962 election. This was the last time the Congress party was voted to power in the State. It received 46.09 per cent of the votes and 67.5 per cent of seats. In the second General Election of 1957 it secured 73.7 per cent of the seats and 42 per cent of the votes.[29] While comparing the present position of Congress with the second general election, it is obvious that it secured more seats and less votes in the second general election and more votes and less seats in the third general election. During the second general election, DMK could manage only 7.3 per cent of the seats though it polled 13.8 per cent of the votes. However, it is observed from the table that the DMK party had doubled its strength and support with the masses. The DMK's success was perhaps due to the support of the Swatantra party, the Muslim League and the Communist party of India (in Trichy district) and the Republican party. It received a large proportion of the protest vote against the ruling party. And hence, the DMK emerged as a strong opposition party in the Madras Legislative Assembly.[30] All other minor parties were supportive parties.

In the second period of the study (1967-70), the fourth general election took place. This election left its mark in the political history of Tamil Nadu. The main opposition party of the 1962-67 period, namely, the DMK turned out to be the ruling party and the ruling party at that time

TABLE-1

Total Seats and Votes secured by the political parties in the Third General Election (1962) for Madras Legislative Assembly

S. No.	Name of the Political Party	Seats won	% of seats	% of votes secured
1.	Congress	139	67.5	46.09
2.	DMK	50	24.3	27.0
3.	Swatantra party	6	2.9	7.86
4.	Communist party of India	2	0.9	7.75
5.	Forward Bloc	3	1.5	1.36
6.	Socialist party	1	0.5	0.39
7.	Independents and others*	5	2.4	9.25

*Jana Sangh and Praja Socialist Parties contested in the General Election but failed to secure any seats.

Source : Shiv Lal, ed., *International Electrol Politics and Law* (New Delhi: The Election Archives, 1980), p-12.

the Congress party was reduced to the status of the main opposition party. Apart from this, the multiplicity of parties in the election arena and their solid support to DMK brought a change in the election trend in the Tamil Nadu.

As compared with the 1962 election, there was a mushrooming of parties during the 1967 election and most of the parties were breakaway groups from the Congress party.[31]

Table-2 shows the partywise strength in the Legislative Assembly in the fourth general election. A close look at the above table reveals that the DMK party won the 1967 election and got 138 seats with a percentage of 40.77 votes. The main opposition party (the Congress) secured as many as the DMK got in 1962, namely 50 seats with a percentage of 41.04 votes. When DMK got 50 seats in 1962, it secured

TABLE–2

Total seats and votes secured by the Political Parties in the Fourth General Election (1967) for Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly.

S. No.	Name of the Political party	Seats won	% of seats	% of votes secured
1	DMK	138	58.5	40.77
2	Congress	50	21.2	41.04
3	Swatantra party	20	8.5	5.30
4	Communist party of India (Marxist)	11	4.7	4.07
5	Communist party of India	2	0.8	1.80
6	Praja Socialist party	4	1.7	0.89
7	Samyuktha Socialist party	2	0.8	0.55
8	Muslim League	3	1.3	
9	Republican party	1	0.4	
10	Tamilarasukkazhagam	1	0.4	5.58
11	Forward Bloc	1	0.4	
12	Independent and others	3	1.3	

Source: Shiv Lal, ed., *International Electoral Politics and Law* (New Delhi: The Election Archives, 1980), p. 13.

only 27 percentage of the votes. But in 1967 the Congress secured 41.04 percent of votes with 50 seats. Though the DMK won the majority of seats in the Legislative Assembly, the Congress party retained the popular support. The Swatantra party and the Communist party of India (Marxist) were the two supportive parties to the DMK in the fourth general election and played a major role in election victory. In the third general election the Swatantra Party won 6 seats but in the fourth, it secured 20 seats because of its alliance with DMK. The Communist Party of India (Marxist) contested for the first time in the election after its formation in 1967 and won 11 seats. The other parties like the Communist party of India, Praja Socialist party, Samyuktha Socialist party, Forward Bloc, Muslim League, Republican party and Tamilarasukkazhagam were the minor parties which got a few seats in the Assembly. Thus the Congress Party and DMK had mustered enough strength and support from the voters. The Congress Party enjoyed popular support even when it was in the opposition whereas the DMK did not enjoy such an advantage during 1962–67. This brief general description is sufficient for further understanding of the strength of the political parties in Madras Legislative Assembly for their articulation.

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CHAPTER III

ARTICULATION AND ALLOCATION DURING CONGRESS MINISTRY 1962-66

The third chapter consists of three sections dealing with the Input (representations of the political parties in the Legislative Assembly on the two issues) and the Output (response of the government). Section I gives a picture of the general level of participation of members of political parties in the legislative assembly on the issues concerned. Section II gives an account of the articulation on the issues. Section III makes reference to the action of the Government in response to the representations of the members on the issues concerned.

Section I

GENERAL TREND OF PARTICIPATION (INPUT)

This section makes an assessment of the general level of participation by the political parties on Public Health and Education. The level of participation means the number of members who participated in the discussion with reference to the chosen issues, as a percentage of the total participation. Of course, this assessment can help draw inferences only to a limited extent, for the qualitative aspect in terms of the effectiveness of participation, is not taken into

consideration. But this serves as a prelude to probing into the qualitative side of the participation in the later part of the book.

Participation of Members on Public Health and Education

The discussion assumes several forms. Here, an assessment of the strength of participation of political parties in the Legislative Assembly on public health and education is made for a period of five years from 1962 to 1966. This assessment is being done in the following order. Discussion on governor's address, general discussion on the budget, discussion on voting of demands for grants, discussion on appropriation bill, discussion on supplementary budget, discussion on no confidence motion, discussion on Five Year Plans, questions, discussion on calling attention notices and adjournment motions.

Discussion on Governor's Address

It has already been pointed out that [1] government policies are introduced and new directions for the government are indicated in the Governor's address every year. Discussion takes place on Governor's address and members from various political parties in the legislative assembly participate in the discussions on the policies and decisions introduced in the Governor's address. Tables 3 and 4 present the nature of the distribution. A careful look at the tables reveals that the political parties have not sufficiently focussed their attention on the problems of public health and education during the five year period. Not even 20% of the members participated in the discussion on Governor's address voicing their concern over the pressing public health and educational problems. The highest participation for any year in this five year period on public health and education was only

TABLE - 3

Total Representation in Various Discussions and Questions in Madras Legislative Assembly on Public Health Issues From 1962 to 1966.

S. No.	Year	TMP on DGA	MP on PH	%	TMP on GDB	MP on PH	%	VOD on PH	TMP on DMAP	MP on PH	%	TMP on DSB	MP on PH	%	TMP on DFYP	MP on PH	%	TMP on DNCM	MP on PH	%	T. Q.	Q on PH	%	C. A.	A. M.
1	1962	104	10	9.7	134	27	20.1	30	7	0	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3331	249	7.47	—	—
2	1963	95	16	16.8	130	29	22.3	27	17	1	5.8	38	7	18.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	4796	468	9.75	2	—
3	1964	84	13	15.4	113	40	35.3	23	24	4	16.6	57	8	14.5	11	0	0	17	0	0	4463	370	8.29	2	—
4	1965	59	2	3.4	87	9	10.3	24	23	0	0	68	8	11.7	60	14	23.3	—	—	—	4624	192	4.17	2	1
5	1966	94	12	12.7	79	19	24.0	35	27	3	11	55	9	16.3	—	—	—	22	0	0	4196	313	7.45	1	1

Source: *Computed* from the *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1962-1966.*

TABLE - 4

Total Representation in Various Discussions and Questions in Madras Legislative Assembly on Educational Issues from 1962 to 1966.

S. No.	Year	TMP on DGA	MP on E	%	TMP on GDB	MP on E	%	VOD on E	TMP on DMAB	MP on E	%	TMP on DSB	MP on E	%	TMP on DFYP	MP on E	%	TMP on DNCM	MP on E	%	DEP and DUB	T. Q.	Q on E	%	C. A.	A. M.
1	1962	104	18	17.3	134	49	36.5	27	7	2	28.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3331	246	7.37	2	1
2	1963	95	6	6.3	130	32	24.6	22	17	3	17.6	38	9	23.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	4796	449	9.36	1	—
3	1964	84	15	17.8	113	52	46	22	24	8	33.3	57	30	52.6	11	0	0	17	7	41.1	—	4463	344	7.70	4	6
4	1965	59	0	0	87	45	51.7	21	23	5	21.7	68	6	8.8	60	18	—	—	—	—	17	4624	389	8.41	2	3
5	1966	94	9	9.5	79	22	27.8	19	27	3	11.1	55	11	20	—	—	—	22	6	27.2	6	4196	380	9.01	—	1

Source: Computed from the *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports, 1962-1966.*

16.8% and 17.8% respectively. The ranges were between 3.4% and 16.8% for public health and 0 to 17.8% for education. The variation in the extent of participation of members in the discussion during the five year period was due to the differing degree of importance of the problems which were introduced in the governor's address from time to time. Apart from this, if there is any reference to any policy of the Government in the Governor's address, generally participation in the discussion would be higher in percentage. In 1963, 1965 and 1966, there had been no reference to education in the Governor's address.

General discussion on the budget

Another general discussion is the one usually held every year during the budget session. This general discussion is specifically meant to cover the economic or financial policies of the government. Members in the legislative assembly make use of this opportunity to comment on the performance of the government mostly on the economic domain. Normally members express the needs of their constituency and urge the government to allocate more money to solve the problems in their constituencies.

During the general discussion on the budget, adequate substantial time is allotted for discussion so that there is enough scope for participation by members in this discussion. This discussion encompasses several problems in connection with money allocation. Participation trend in respect of Public health and education is given in the Tables 3 and 4. The level of participation ranges between 10.3% and 35.3% on public health and 24.6% and 51.7% on education. There was a sudden fall in 1965 (10.3%) in the participation of members on public health and a sudden increase (51.7%) on education which are due to the anti-Hindi agitation. Since

the focus of the members was shifted to the anti-Hindi agitation, there was no concentration on Public health. The anti-Hindi agitation affected mainly the normal functioning of the educational institutions. Hence it came up for discussion under the head 'education'.

As compared with the participation of members in the discussion on Governor's address, participation of members in the general discussion on the budget records a high degree. Most members evinced interest only in the budget session. This was due to the availability of more time during the session and due to the fact that the session fully dealt with the money allocation.

Discussion on voting of demands for grants

After the general discussion on the budget, there is a specific debate meant for voting of demands for grants for the various departments concerned. Here there is enough provision for drawing the attention of the government on specific issues relating to public health and education. The business advisory committee allots a day for this discussion. Apart from the regular activities, time is allotted for this discussion. The party whip gives opportunities to the members. The selection depends upon the keenness of members to participate in the discussion. Hence, the number of hours allotted is a major factor deciding the extent of participation by individual members on the various issues. Sometimes, there does not arise much competition among members and only a few participate in the discussions. Tables 3 and 4 show that the participation level ranges from 23 to 35 on public health and 19 to 27 on education.

Discussion on Madras Appropriation Bill

Voting of demands for grants is followed by the Madras appropriation bill. This bill empowers the government to

draw money under different heads from the treasury. This is almost a general discussion wherein the members can bring the matters which are left out in the preceding debates. From the tables 3 and 4 it is obvious that the members had not evinced much interest in this discussion on Public health and education. In 1962 and 1965 there had been no participation on public health. However this does not pose any paradox.

Discussion on supplementary budget

Yet another opportunity for general discussion comes during the presentation of supplementary budget.[1] It is observed from Tables 3 and 4 that the participation in the discussion on supplementary budget on public health and education is only moderate. However, participation on education is found to be more than that on Public health.

Discussion on Five Year Plans

In the discussion on five year plan proposals and evaluation, members can give suggestion to formulate programmes and to indicate the lapses on the part of the government while implementing the five year plan programmes. Twice the discussion have been scheduled in the past, once for evaluating the third five year plan programme implementation and the next time for discussion on the proposals of the fourth five year plan. It is an interesting observation from tables 3 and 4 that nobody represented the public health and educational problems in the appraisal of the third five year plan. There was participation only to the tune of 23.3% and 30.8% on the issues of public health and education respectively, in the discussion in the fourth five year plan proposals.

Discussion on No-confidence Motion

Apart from the regular discussions, there were other occasional, but important businesses which were transacted during the period of study. No-confidence motions were moved twice during the period from 1962 to 1966 and the problem of public health did not figure in the discussion. But these discussions assigned some importance to education. The participation levels were 27.2% and 41.1% respectively. This showed the importance assigned to education is only incidental due to the discussion on anti-Hindi agitation which was launched mostly by students, affecting the normal functioning of the educational institutions. It is noticeable that the political parties had not charged the government for holding any weak educational policy, although the members knew that the no-confidence motion was the best form of representation to bring pressure on the government to solve the problems. Usually, the government is charged with a number of accusations when the resolution is moved. But it is surprising, that the problem of public health has not drawn at all the attention of the sponsors of the motion, where they have a rich scope to attack the government.

Discussion on specific issues

Specific discussions were made on the educational pattern, when the Madurai University bill and other educational bills were moved in 1963, 1965 and 1966. Time was fixed for this discussion and members of different political parties shared the time and expressed their opinion about the issues. Like the discussion on voting of demands for grants, discussion on specific issues is almost compulsory and each party has to represent its views. So chances are thrust upon them. Table 4 presents the number of members who participated in all these discussions.

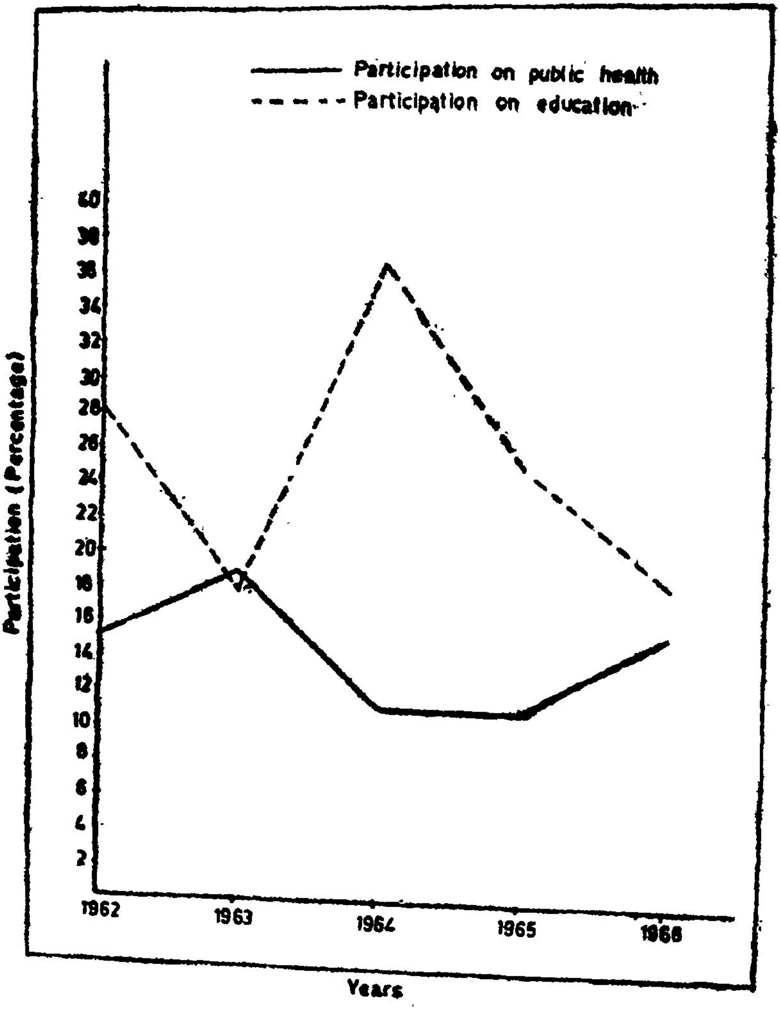
Questions

Questions are another important form of representation. A great deal of time is devoted for questions every day. Through the questions, members can elicit information, get assurances and expose the government in regard to its lapses. Hence questions are treated as important as general discussions. Information in the tables 3 and 4 relating to questions on public health and education present a picture of a poor performance of the members. Totally not even 10% of the questions were asked on the subjects mentioned above. Both on education and public health, members asked more or less equal number of questions, whereas in the discussions, the participation of the members on education outstripped their participation on Public health.

Discussion on Calling Attention and Adjournment Motions

Calling attention notices and Adjournment motions are the other two important tools by which members can bring urgent problems of public importance for discussion and this debate is seriously considered by the government. There were a large number of problems in Public health and education for which the political parties could have moved more calling attention notices and adjournment motions. But they have moved a minimum number of adjournment motions and have given notices for calling attention. Tables 3 and 4 depict the numbers of each category of motions. For all the five years seven calling attention notices and two adjournment motions on Public health and nine calling attention notices and eleven adjournment motions on education were moved. As compared with education, public health has to meet more urgent public problems like outbreak of epidemics, serious deaths and need of essential facilities. But quite surprisingly

LEGISLATORS' PARTICIPATION ON THE ISSUES OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND EDUCATION 1962-66.



members moved more calling attention and adjournment motions on education.

Totally, in general discussions, members participated on Public health and educational matters in the following manner: 1962 15.01%, 1963 18.9%, 1964 11.24%, 1965 11.11% and 1966 15.55% on public health and 1962 28.16%, 1963 17 85%, 1964 36.60%, 1965 24.91%, 1966 18.41% on education. In the next stage partywise participation of members on public health and education in different discussions and questions is assessed. Tables 5 and 6 are self explanatory as to the partywise participation of members in different discussions and questions.

Congress

From 1962 to 1966, Madras state was under the rule of the Congress Party. It was but natural that more hours were allotted to the Congress Party than to the opposition during discussions. Of the participation on the issues of Public health and education by the political parties in the discussion, the Congress Party represented nearly 55% and 60% respectively. The Congress Party's performance in the various discussions indicates a higher percentage among other political parties but their performance in the questions shows a lower percentage than the DMK party, on both issues, public health and education. Apart from this, this party moved an adjournment motion each on public health and education and one calling attention notice on education. The Congress Party did not usually give much importance to adjournment motions and calling attention notices.

DMK

It was then the main opposition party with 50 members in the Legislative Assembly. This party had proportionate

TABLE - 5

Representation of Political Parties in Various Discussions and Questions on Public Health (1962—66)

S. No.	Year	Session	Total Partici.	Partici. on PH	CONG.	DMK	SWA.	COM.	SOCIA.	FB	I
1	1962	D.G.A.	104	10	4	3	1	—	—	—	2
		G.D.B.	134	27	17	8	1	1	—	—	—
		D.S.A.	7	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	3331	249	70 (56.75)	107 (29.72)	20 (5.40)	33	4	3	12
2	1963	D.G.A.	95	16	9	6	—	—	—	—	1
		G.D.B.	130	29	19	8	1	—	—	—	1
		D.S.A.	55	8	3	5	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4796	468	116 (58.49)	245 (35.84)	18 (1.88)	33	3	10	43
3	1964	D.G.A.	84	13	9	2	2	—	—	—	—
		G.D.B.	113	40	25	10	3	—	—	—	2
		D.S.A.N.P.	109	12	5	6	1	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4463	370	96 (60)	159 (27.69)	32 (9.23)	49	6	11	17
4	1965	D.G.A.	59	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
		G.D.B.	81	9	7	1	—	—	—	—	1
		D.S.A.P.	151	22	12	9	1	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4624	192	45 (57.57)	104 (36.36)	18 (3.03)	20	1	2	5
5	1966	D.G.A.	94	12	8	4	—	—	—	—	—
		G.D.B.	79	19	9	10	—	—	—	—	—
		D.S.A.N.	104	12	6	6	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4196	313	102 (53.43)	125 (46.51)	33 (0)	32	8	6	7

Source: Computed from the *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1962–1966.*

TABLE – 6

Representation of Political Parties on Various Discussions and Questions on Education (1962—66)

S. No.	Year	Session	T. Parti	Partici. on Edn.	CONG.	DMK	SWA.	COM.	FB	SOCIA.	I
1	1962	D.G.A.	104	18	15 (66.66)	2 (20.83)	— (1.45)	—	—	—	1
		G.D.B.	134	49	35	11	1	—	—	—	2
		D.S.A.	7	2	—	—	—	1	—	–	1
		Q.	3331	246	80	49	17	69	5	1	25
2	1963	D.G.A.	95	6	3 (53.76)	2 (35.48)	— (0)	—	—	—	1
		G.D.B.	130	32	21	9	—	—	—	—	2
		D.S.A.	55	12	6	5	—	—	—	—	1
		Q.	4796	449	141	211	39	16	14	2	26
3	1964	D.G.A.	84	15	10 (60.44)	4 (29.85)	— (5.36)	—	1	—	—
		G.D.B.	113	52	39	9	2	—	—	1	1
		D.S.A.N.P.	109	45	20	19	4	1	—	—	1
		Q.	4463	345	76	196	18	37	7	—	11
4	1965	D.G.A.	59	0	— (59.82)	— (29.46)	— (4.05)	—	—	—	—
		G.D.B.	87	45	26	12	2	1	2	1	1
		D.S.A.P.	151	29	19	9	1	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4624	389	126	204	24	26	6	—	3
5	1966	D.G.A.	94	9	7 (55.26)	2 (35.52)	— (1.96)	—	—	—	—
		G.D.B.	79	22	15	5	—	—	—	—	2
		D.S.A.N.	104	20	9	10	1	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4196	380	150	171	26	26	—	—	7

Source: Computed from the *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1962–1966.*

hours for discussion. In terms of allotment of hours, this party was next only to the ruling party. Of the participation on the issues of public health and education in various debates, the DMK represented nearly 35% and 30% respectively. With regard to questions asked on Public health and education, the DMK outstripped the Congress Party. The Congress and other parties gave much importance to education in the general discussions and questions unlike the DMK. Totally six calling attentions were moved on public health and education, seven adjournment motions were moved on education. The performance of the DMK party in questions, motions and calling attentions, showed that it outstripped the Congress Party. While it was functioning as an opposition, it tried to expose the government to the public in all possible ways by asking questions. Though less time was allotted to the opposition party compared to the ruling party, the DMK participated effectively in greater proportion to its strength.

Swatantra party

This party had not consistently availed itself of the opportunity for discussing the public health and educational matters. Members from this party participated in the discussions intermittently. They participated on public health and education at the rate of 4.9% and 3% respectively. Of the questions asked by the Swatantra party 8.8% centered on public health and 6.7% on education. This party assigned more importance to public health problems than to educational matters.

Other parties

On public health matters, it is very clear from table 5 that some political parties, like the Socialist Party and

Forward Block had no participation in the discussions from 1962 to 1966. From the Communist Party of India one member in 1962 participated in a discussion on Public health and afterwards there had been no representation from the party in the next four years. The Communist Party of India had given one calling attention notice, one adjournment motion and one resolution on public health. On education, this party had given three adjournment motions and two calling attention notices. Among the other parties, the Communist party of India used pressure tactics to solve the problems. So it moved more adjournment motions and calling attention notices. But as regards the questions asked in the legislative assembly on Public health and education, the various parties such as Communist Party of India, Socialist Party, Forward Bloc and Independent members, raised 14.57%, 22.42%, 8.68% and 40.65% respectively of their questions relating to these issues. Regarding questions, other parties asked more questions on public health than on education. Of the three political parties and independent members, the Communist Party of India raised more questions on both the issues and Independent members showed greater participation in the discussions than other parties.

Generally, in all the discussions, the Congress Party, which was the ruling party and the DMK, the main opposition party had a greater participation. The other parties were far behind. Regarding questions DMK asked more number of questions than the ruling party. In all, the participation of members in the discussions on education is more than the participation of members in the discussion on Public health. The discussion on the participation of parties in terms of the numerical strength leads to an analysis of the content of their participation in the next section.

Public health

In order to analyse the representations of the members in the Legislative Assembly on Public health and education, an analytical tool developed by Almond and Powell has been adopted with modifications.[3] Public health includes the following specific issues - protected water supply and sanitation, out-break of epidemics, primary health care, food adulteration and drug control, leprosy and tuberculosis, indigenous and homeopathy medical system, hospital facilities, medical personnel and skill-mix and medical education. Analysis is made using the above tool.[4] Discussion could be held on the basis of the above mentioned classification of the issues in public health.

Representation

The trend of representation of the various political parties on the issues of public health in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly is presented in Table-7. The ruling Congress Party's participation was more on most of the issues relating to public health when it is assessed in proportion to the total participation.[5] The DMK as opposition out-numbered the ruling Congress Party's participation on some of the issues of public health, namely, outbreak of epidemics, food adulteration, drug control and indigenous medical system. But when their participation iscalculated in proportion to their strength in the legislative assembly, the main opposition DMK party outstripped the participation of the Congress Party on all the issues of public health. But the two parties represented on almost all these issues in the Legislative Assembly. During this period Congress Party recorded its highest participation 7.49% on protected water supply and sanitation in 1963 and nil participation on outbreak of

TABLE - 7

Representation of Political Parties on the Issues of Public Health 1962–1966.

S. No.	Year	Issues	Total partici-pation	Participa-tion on public health	Participation on the issues (Col. 3)	Congress	DMK	Swa-tantra	Commu-nist	For-ward Bloc	Socialist	Inde-pendent
		WSS	275	67(24.36)	18(6. .5)	7(2.54)	9(3.27)	1	—	—	—	1
		OE	,,	,,	1(0.36)	0(0. 0)	0(0. 0)	0	—	—	—	1
		PHC	,,	,,	6(2.18)	5(1. 8)	0(0. 0)	—	—	—	—	1
		FADC	,,	,,	9(3.27)	6(2.18)	0(0. 0)	1	1	—	—	1
1	1962	LTB	,,	,,	3(1.09)	3(1.09)	0(0. 0)	—	—	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	3(1.09)	3(1.09)	0(0. 0)	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	30(10.90)	22(8. 0)	2(0 72)	2	2	—	—	2
		MPSM	,,	,,	14(5.09)	11(3.63)	1(0.36)	—	1	—	—	1
		ME	,,	,,	13(4.73)	10(3.63)	1(0.36)	—	—	—	—	2
		WSS	307	80(26.05)	37(12.05)	23(7.49)	11(3.58)	—	1	—	—	2
		OE	,,	,,	5(1 30)	0(0. 0)	4(1.30)	1	—	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	10(3.25)	6(1.95)	2(0.65)	1	1	—	—	—

S. No.	Year	Issues	Total Partici-pation	Participa-tion on public health	Participation on the issues (Col. 3)	Congress	DMK	Swa-tantra	Commu-nist	For-ward Bloc	Socialist	Inde-pendent
2	1963	FAC	,,	,,	12(4.23)	4(1.30)	6(1.95)	2	1	—	—	—
		LTB	,,	,,	7(2.28)	3(0.97)	3(0.97)	1	—	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	5(1.62)	1(0.32)	1(0.32)	1	—	—	—	2
		HF	,,	,,	25(8.46)	11(3.58)	11(3.58)	1	—	—	—	2
		MPSM	,,	,,	21(6.84)	8(2.60)	7(2.28)	2	1	—	—	3
		ME	,,	,,	12(3.90)	6(1.95)	4(1.30)	2	—	—	—	—
		WSS	329	88(26.74)	31(9.42)	16(4.86)	10(3.03)	2	—	—	—	3
		OE	,,	,,	9(2.70)	3(0.91)	6(1.82)	—	—	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	11(3.34)	5(1.51)	6(1.82)	—	—	—	—	—
3	1964	FADC	,,	,,	8(2.43)	2(0.60)	5(1.51)	1	—	—	—	—
		LTB	,,	,,	4(1.21)	3(0.91)	1(0.30)	—	—	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	8(2.43)	2(0.60)	4(1.21)	1	—	—	—	1
		HF	,,	,,	34(10.33)	20(6.07)	11(3.34)	—	—	—	—	2
		MPSM	,,	,,	15(4.55)	7(2.12)	5(1.51)	1	—	—	—	2
		ME	,,	,,	15(4.55)	7(2.12)	7(2.12)	—	—	—	—	1

		WSS	321	57(17.75)	39(12. 2)	18(5.60)	18(5.60)	2	—	—	—	1
		OE	,,	,,	3(0.93)	2(0.62)	1(0.31)	—	—	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	16(4.98)	5(1.60)	8(2.49)	2	—	—	—	—
		FADC	,,	,,	5(1.56)	0(0. 0)	5(1.55)	—	—	—	—	—
4	1965	LTB	,,	,,	10(3.12)	5(1.55)	5(1.55)	—	—	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	2(0.62)	0(0.00)	1(0.31)	—	—	—	—	1
		HF	,,	,,	22(6.85)	1(3.42)	8(2.49)	1	—	—	—	2
		MPSM	,,	,,	14(4.36)	4(1.24)	8(2.49)	1	—	—	—	—
		ME	,,	,,	14(4.36)	5(1.55)	8(2.49)	1	—	—	—	—
		WSS	312	78(25.00)	50(15. 8)	23(7.37)	23(7.37)	1	2	—	—	1
		OE	,,	,,	0(0. 0)	0(0. 0)	0(0.00)	—	—	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	15(4.80)	8(2.24)	5(1.60)	1	—	—	—	1
		FADC	,,	,,	14(4.48)	8(2.56)	6(1.92)	—	—	—	—	—
5	1966	LTB	,,	,,	4(1.28)	2(0.64)	2(0.64)	—	—	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	4(1.28)	0(0.00)	3(0.96)	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	19(6.08)	7(2.24)	11(3.52)	—	—	—	—	—
		MPSM	,,	,,	9(2.88)	5(1.60)	3(0.96)	—	—	—	—	—
		ME	,,	,,	9(2.88)	6(1.92)	3(0.96)	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Computed from *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates official Reports 1962 - 1966.*

TABLE - 8

Questions on the Issues of Public Health 1962-1966

S. No.	Year	Issues	Toial Questions	Quessions on public Health	Questions on the Issues Col. 3	Con-gress	DMK	Swat-antra	Commu-nist	For-word bloc	Socia-list	Indepen-dent
		WSS	3331	249	60	15	26	5	8	1	2	3
		OE	,,	,,	5	2	—	2	—	—	—	1
		PHC	,,	,,	19	6	5	3	4	—	—	1
		FADC	,,	,,	19	6	7	2	3	—	—	1
1	1962	LTB	,,	,,	7	4	2	—	—	—	—	1
		IHM	,,	,,	10	6	4	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	42	14	15	—	7	1	1	4
		MPSM	,,	,,	28	4	16	5	2	—	—	1
		ME	,,	,,	57	13	32	3	9	1	1	—
		WSS	4796	468	79	16	42	—	13	2	1	5
		OE	,,	,,	32	6	19	—	3	1	—	3
		PHC	,,	,,	45	2	26	4	3	1	1	8
		FADC	,,	,,	77	22	36	4	6	4	—	5

[illegible]	1963	LTB	,,	,,	35	5	24	3	—	—	—	2
		IHM	,,	,,	37	15	18	—	—	—	—	4
		HF	,,	,,	67	24	28	4	4	1	—	6
		MPSM	,,	,,	34	11	14	—	2	—	—	7
		ME	,,	,,	63	15	38	3	3	1	1	2
		WSS	4463	370	88	21	37	4	18	4	1	3
		OE	,,	,,	23	3	11	1	5	—	—	3
		PHC	,,	,,	50	12	28	2	1	4	1	2
		FADC	,,	,,	26	12	4	4	4	—	—	2
[illegible]	1964	LTB	,,	,,	33	12	14	2	2	—	1	2
		IHM	,,	,,	24	4	13	2	4	1	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	73	19	33	8	7	2	1	3
		MPSM	,,	,,	20	4	7	4	3	—	—	3
		ME	,,	,,	37	9	16	5	5	—	2	—
		WSS	4624	192	29	7	15	2	3	1	—	1
		OE	,,	,,	20	2	13	2	3	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	15	3	7	—	3	—	—	2
		FADC	,,	,,	23	6	12	—	4	—	1	—

S. No.	Year	Issues	Total Questions	Questions on Public Health	Questions on the Issues Col. 3	Congress	DMK	Swatantra	Communist	Forword bloc	Socialist	Independent
4	1965	LTB	,,	,,	11	4	6	—	1	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	41	10	18	8	4	—	—	1
		MPSM	,,	,,	16	4	8	2	2	—	—	—
		ME	,,	,,	37	9	22	4	—	1	—	1
		WSS	4196	313	61	16	25	6	7	4	2	1
		OE	,,	,,	8	4	2	—	2	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	63	24	26	6	4	—	1	2
		FADC	,,	,,	35	14	11	4	5	1	—	—
5	1966	LTB	,,	,,	17	2	6	5	4	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	8	3	5	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	62	23	22	7	6	1	1	2
		MPSM	,,	,,	29	6	16	3	2	1	—	1
		ME	,,	,,	30	10	12	2	2	1	2	1

Source: Computed from *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1962–1966*.

epidemics in 1962, 1963 and 1966 and on indigenous medical system in 1965 and 1966. The DMK recorded its highest participation 7.37% on protected water supply and sanitation in 1966 and nil participation on outbreak of epidemics, primary healthcare, food adulteration and drug control, leprosy and tuberculosis and indigenous medical system in 1962. The Swantantra Party and the Communist Party of India participated intermittently. The Forward Bloc and the *Socialist Party had not participated in the discussions on the* public health issues. A considerable number of members participated in the discussions intermittently. Even in asking questions the DMK showed keen interest and asked more number of questions on the issues of public health as revealed in Table-8. Next to the main opposition party, the ruling Congress Party members asked more number of questions. The members of the other parties had also asked a few questions on each issue of public health. Among the issues of public health, protected water supply and sanitation, primary health care, hospital facilities, medical education and medical personel received greater attention than the other issues.

Articulation

Protected drinking water supply and sanitation are the basis of the health of the community. In Tamil Nadu, providing protected water supply facilities and maintaining sanitation have always posed many problems. Though steps had been taken, the conditions had not satisfactorily improved.

With regard to providing protected water supply, a large number of members from different political parties concentrated on demanding water supply facilities only to their constituencies,[6]

It is a fact to be noted that the members who demanded water supply facilities to their constituencies had not elaborately explained the conditions prevailing in their constituencies and the need for it in the light of the policy of the government in providing water supply. Only in a general way, they demanded that these facilities should be extended further in their constituencies. A Congress Party membes in 1962 criticised his own party government for its policies in water supply and accused the government for having allotted more money for urban areas neglecting the rural areas which account for 80% of the total population. So he argued that rural areas should not be neglected and they must be given due attention in this regard.[7] The same idea of giving importance for providing water supply facilities to the rural areas, was reiterated in 1965 by the ruling Congress Party members. They emphasised that the government should solve the water supply problems in all the villages before the end of the fourth five year plan.[8]

It is to be pointed out that A. S. Ponnammal, a Congress Party member suggested that government should chalk out a comprehensive scheme by which water problems could be solved. She further suggested that the funds for this scheme could be raised from the people.[9]

The DMK members criticised the Public health administration in executing the water supply schemes. Further they requested the government to allocate more money for this scheme.[10]

Further the DMK members stated that in most of the places water was sold and many overhead water tanks were found in Madras State without water. They pointed out that though a foundation stone has laid for a water scheme in 1963 there was no follow up action till 1966.[11]

The members of the Swatantra Party and the Communist Party stressed that water had become a rare commodity in both rural and in urban areas.[12] Only one member from the Communist Party of India spoke (in 1963) on sanitation and hygiene in the state and accused the State Government that it had not taken any step to improve sanitation in the State.[13] That was the only occasion during the term of the assembly that the Communist Party participated in the discusssion on sanitation.

A Communist Party member in 1966 moved an adjournment motion on the failure of the government in maintaining the sanitary condition around the government estate in Madras.[14] During the period of five years no member spoke in the debates with regard to sanitation except this Communist member. People had to face frequent outbreaks of epidemics like cholera, small-pox, plague and malaria in Tamil Nadu. During the period under study epidemics took the life of thousands of people.[15] Such a vital issue did not attract the attention of the representatives as it should. Regarding the outbreak of epidemics, an independent member in 1962, a Swatantra Party member in 1963 and DMK members in 1964 strongly condemned the government for not taking effective steps to prevent the outbreak of epidemics and they gave statistical evidence in support of their contention.[16] In 1963, the DMK members rightly criticised the government for spending a huge amount for curative services to the relative neglect of preventive measures. They stressed that the government should assign top priority to the preventive steps.[17] The Congress Party members in 1964 and 1965 requested the government to pay much attention to eradication of epidemics.[18] Apart from the regular discussions, the DMK party had moved six calling attentions over the outbreak of cholera in a few places.[19] In general, the members

were not sensitive to the incidence of the dreadful diseases like cholera and small-pox as such. But only when the extent of incidence turned highly dangerous taking a heavy toll of lives, the members expressed their concern very strongly. Only then did they resort to the calling attentions and other methods to draw the attention of the government. Though there were attacks of epidemics reported in 1962 and 1966, no representation was made in those years except by an independent member. Thus a very poor representation was recorded on the problems of epidemics.

It is the duty of the government not only to protect the people from death but also to provide basic amenities to them to maintain good health. It is a main objective of the State Government to provide basic amenities to the rural and urban communities. Preventive and promotive measures are essential to a community through which the spread of most of the diseases could be arrested. To achieve this, primary health care is an essential step which required special attention On this vital issue members represented their views.

In almost all the years from 1962 to 1966, most of the Congress Party members, a few DMK and Swatantra Party members and Independent members demanded more primary health centres to their constituencies without mentioning the area and more facilities to primary health centres without specifying the type of facilities and the places where these facilities were required. They articulated the demands in a general way as it is in issues like water supply.[20] But a DMK member V. S. S. Mani in 1966 rightly argued that primary health centres should not be opened merely for the sake of

publicity but they should be fully equipped to handle various situation.[21] It is to be noted that a Congress member A. S. Ponnammal was specific in suggesting to the government to revise the policy and open one primary health centre for 7,500 population instead of 10,000.[22] A Communist Party member criticised the government for not implementing its own policies in starting primary health centres in each Panchayat Union and pointed out that there were no primary health centres in hundreds of Panchayat Unions.[23] The government stopped the sanctioning of Primary health centres due to national emergency in 1963. One DMK member S. Madhavan criticised the government for stopping the sanctioning of primary health centres and argued that the centre had given instruction that essential services should not be stopped on any account.[24] The member's argument was the sanctioning of primary health centres should not have been stopped by the state government. Thus the member exposed the government's inconsistency in this regard. M. S. Selvarajan, a Congress Party member, pointed out that most of the primary health centres were not functioning properly due to the lack of adequate facilities in the centres and housing facilities to the doctors with the result the doctors were not willing to work in the centres. So he requested the government to provide enough facilities including houses to the doctors so that the doctors would be willing to work in the primary health centres.[25] Only one member, that too an independent member, listing out all the problems in primary health centres, suggested a few solutions to those problems such as constructing more buildings, appointing enough doctors and other staff, and providing sufficient drugs. Further, they highlighted the fact that in order to attract the doctors to work in the primary health centres special allowance should be given to them.[26]

In regard to preventive measures, it is all the more important that steps should be taken to prevent adulteration by which the quality of health could be improved. Food adulteration was a major problem everywhere. A glimpse of the Administrative Report of Tamil Nadu from 1962 to 1966 would reveal that food adulteration cases were on the rise. Likewise there were a number of problems in production and distribution of drugs. A few of the members reacted to the problems.

Most of the participants in the discussions on this issue, discussed the problems with regard to food adulteration. It was such a serious problem that members from Congress, DMK, Communist Party of India and Swatantra Party from 1962 to 1966 urged the government to take steps to arrest the increasing cases of food adulteration.[27] Further a few members from the Congress Party and DMK suggested that the government organise squads to effectively implement the existing Food Adulteration Act and so to give rigorous punishment to the adulterators to prevent the increasing cases of food adulterations.[28] A Communist Party member moved a resolution regarding food adulteration and spoke about the increasing menace and appealed to the government to take necessary action to stop it.[29]

Apart from food adulteration, the members spoke about the production and supply of drugs. Members from Congress Party, DMK, Swatantra and Communist Parties referred to the insufficient production and irregular supply of drugs to the hospitals.[30] Only a few members from the DMK party requested the authorities to increase the money allocation to purchase more drugs for the hospitals and pointed out that most of the hospitals were running without the essential drugs.[31] While speaking on this issue the DMK members critical of the quality of the drugs supplied to the hospitals.[32]

In support of this charge, M. Kalyanasundaram, a Communist party member placed a statement before the Assembly to the effect that most of the medicines used in the government hospitals were of a poor quality. The member said that it was brought to his notice by physicians whom he interviewed.[33] It may be pointed out that this member took much pain to collect the relevant facts from physicians themselves. The problems highlighted by the members were discussed in the Assembly. Though the number of lepers increased every year, the members in the legislative assembly had not paid much attention to this issue. Only a Congress member pointed out the increasing presence of the lepers on the streets and requested the authorities to construct separate houses for them.[34] Nobody spoke about their conditions, and the seriousness of the problem. So this issue was not given proper attention by the legislators.

On the problems of tuberculosis, several members from the Congress Party, DMK and Swatantra Party participated in the discussions. They requested the government to start more T. B. Sanatoriums and T. B. Wings in the hospitals and to provide them with equipment and to appoint adequate number of doctors in the Sanatoriums.[35] A DMK member strongly objected to the starting of private T. B. Sanatoriums in Tamil Nadu, because of the malfunctioning and non-avaliability of facilities in the T. B. Sanatoriums.[36] Rightly, the DMK members in 1965 and 1966 indicated that tuberculosis and leprosy symptoms were found among the workers of beedi factories and school children and this warranted immediate attention and good medical care.[37] K. Govindan, a DMK member suggested that door to door survey and treatment could be given.[38]

The importance of indigenous and homeopathy medical systems in the treatment of patients suffering from various

diseases was realised only in later years. The indigenous system has been part and parcel of the medical system in Tamil Nadu for centuries. The importance given to it was lost during the British administration.

All the members who participated in the discussions from 1962 to 1966 requested the authorities to give importance and due recognition to indigenous medical system. Further they made a plea for more money allocation to indigenous medical system and to open more sidha wing in the government hospitals.

Apart from the nature of the medical system, the problems both administrative and financial created several crises in the hospitals in delivering the medical services to the people. In a cumulative way the members represented the existing problems in their respective constituency individually and totally as they understood the problems. Generally, a majority of the members from the Congress Party, the DMK and the Swatantra Party from 1962 to 1966 repeatedly pleaded for the increase in the number of hospitals in their respective constituencies. Only a few touched on the need for hospitals in the entire State of Tamil Nadu, and appealed to the government to upgrade the existing hospitals and dispensaries to increase the beds in the hospitals and to take over all panchayat union dispensaries.[40] The members had not elaborated the reasons as to why more hospitals should be started and why the dispensaries should be taken over by the government and why the dispensaries and hospitals should be upgraded. With the exception of two members, others did not refer to the policy of the government in starting hospitals and dispensaries. They simply demanded hospitals to their constituencies without giving adequate reasons. In 1963, a Congress Party member came up with suggestion that the government should appoint

a committee to project the need for facilities in hospitals and pleaded for constructing a hospital every four miles.[41] Only an independent member touched upon the policy of the government that each taluk should have a hospital and insisted on implementing this policy.[42] But nobody indicated the present strength of beds in the hospitals and the criteria the government adopted in sanctioning beds to the hospitals and the strength of inmates in the hospitals. Without giving all the details regarding the bed strength they demanded bed facilities. Among them a few members alone mentioned the areas where there was a need for such facilities. But only two members from the Communist Party of India rightly presented the issue before the house that there had been no increase of facilities corresponding to the increase of patients in the hospitals and demanded bed facilities in the hospitals. To illustrate their point they took the examples of Thiruthuraipoondi hospital and Trichy hospital and referred to the meagre strenth of beds as compared to the number of patients in the hospitals.[43] Members repeatedly asked for X-ray plants, Steam Laundry Service, Air-conditioned operation theatre, artificial limp centres at Madurai, Madras, Tiruchendur and Salem hospitals,[44] while a majority of members from different parties referred to the facilities in general. It is to be noted that Sa. Ganesan, a Swatantra Party member referred to conditions in the hospitals,[45] especially to the fact that most of the costly scientific instruments purchased from abroad were kept unused due to lack of technicians to operate them.

It is to be noted that a few members drew the attention of the government with regard to lack of hospital facilities in the rural areas. N. Soundarapandian a Congress Party member accused the government of allocating more money to urban areas and neglecting the rural areas. He requested the government not to ignore the villages and further he

wanted the government to construct hospitals in the villages. The same idea was strongly reiterated by R. S. Veerappa Chettiar, an independent member and other independent members that the government was not paying much attention to the rural areas where 80% of the people live.[47] A DMK member referred to the neglect of the government in providing facilities to the rural areas.[48]

The problems in hospitals mounted up not only due to administrative and financial disruption but also due to dearth of qualified medical personnel. The human problems emerged from the poor facilities provided to the medical personnel in the rural areas. This problem was represented in the assembly from different dimensions.

From 1962 to 1966 members of the Congress Party, the DMK, the Swatantra Party and the Communist Party of India repeatedly appealed to the government to appoint more doctors, nurses and compounders in the hospitals in Tamil Nadu and especially in places like Thiruthuraipoondi, Thiruppur, Madurai, Vellur, Villupuram, Omalur, Aathur and Kalavai hospitals.[49] When the members made their demand for the appointment of doctors, they stressed the needs of the rural areas. A member from the Congress Party pointed out that in more than 300 places, doctors had not been appointed[50] It was obvious that enough doctors were not available and so the members gave a suggestion to solve this problem, namely that the government should give effective training to the compounders to fill in the gap.[51] For the same problem two independent members in 1964 suggested that the government should introduce short-term LIM course to tackle the problem of inadequate number of doctors.[52] In the year 1965, a DMK member M. Kamalanathan gave a suggestion that the government should call back all the Indian doctors, working in foreign countries.[53]

Apart from the problem of the dearth of doctors available, there was another dimension to the problem. Even the available doctors were not willing to work in the government hospitals, as they could earn more money by running private clinics. The doctors in the government service were paid a poor salary. Further vacancies were available only in the rural areas where facilities were lacking to the doctors. So the doctors were unwilling to join government service and serve in the rural areas. To solve this problem members from the Congress, the DMK, the Swatantra, the Communist parties and Independent members suggested that the government should increase the salary of the doctors and provide all facilities to them and this could attract the doctors to the government service. Further they suggested to abolish the private practice of the doctors and to give Rs. 200 as allowance to the doctors working in the rural areas.[54] The members while suggesting enhancement of salary and other facilities to the doctors, did not hesitate to expose the insincerity and irresponsibility on the part of doctors in the hospitals. Though the members had not spelt out individual instances in this regard, they pointed out that most of the doctors were not regular in their duty and were invariably indifferent in treating the patients.[55] An independent member A. Kunjan Nadar rightly drew the attention of the house with regard to the service conditions of the nurses in hospitals. In order to improve the conditions of the nurses he requested the government to raise the salary of the lower grade nurse on par with staff nurse as per pay commission's recommendations.[56] M. S. Selvarajan of the Congress party brought to the notice of the House in 1962 that there were no health inspectors in as many as 96 places and requested the government to fill the posts immediately.[57] A. Raghava Reddi, a Swatantra party member wanted to know the exact duties of the health

inspectors because, he said, most of the health inspectors were not doing any work.[58]

Medical education and medical service intertwined with each other. The problems in medical education will definitely affect the functioning of the whole medical system. The members articulated the problems relating to medical education.

As there was a heavy demand for doctors, the members felt that it was necessary to produce more medical graduates. So members urged the government to start a few more medical colleges. Repeatedly members from the Congress, the DMK and the Swatantra party demanded medical colleges at Coimbatore, Chengleput, Salem, Nagercoil, Chidambaram and Tirunelveli.[59] While most of the members who spoke on the subject supported the English system of Medical education, one independent member, R. S. Veerappa Chettiar (in 1964) requested the government to start a Homeopathy Medical College at Madras.[60]

Several members from the DMK and the Swatantra party drew attention to the medical college admission and charged that medical college admissions were not made on the basis of merit and there was much corruption in it.[61] Rightly the Congress party members urged the goverment to have merit as the main criterion for admissions to medical colleges.[62] Medical college admission was a sensitive issue among the people. Members in the Legislative Assembly focussed their attention on the issue.

The Congress and DMK members requested the government to increase the seats for women students to reduce the heavy demand of doctors and to tackle the increasing rush for seats in the medical colleges.[63] It was remarkged that

the outgoing graduates refused to go to rural areas for service. So the legislators from the Congress and Independent group suggested that the government could get assurance from the students before the admission that they would be willing to work in the rural areas after completing their course. Further they appealed to the government to enhance the stiphend from Rs. 97 to Rs. 100 for the house surgeons.[64] A member of the Congress party made mention of the inadequate facilities in the medical colleges and requested the government to provide them with adequate facilities.[65] The DMK members drew the attention of the House to the fact that Madurai Medical college had not so far been recognised by the All India Medical Council. They requested the government to revise the rules and regulations of the Palayamkottai Indigenous Medical College.[66]

Mode of Articulation

From the nature of content of the articulation the mode of articulation table is framed. In this table total participation, specific articulation, and particular articulation are indicated for each year. The specific articulation refers to the issue and the particular articulation means the area mentioned by the members. The difference between the total number of participation and the specific articulation is treated as diffuse articulation. In the same way the difference between the total number of participation and the particular articulation is treated as general articulation.[67] It is observed from table 9 that the representation was reduced to a minimum level because of the weak mode of articulation due to non specification of issue and non-mentioning of the area. During the period from 1962 to 1966, even the highest participation, 15. 8 % recorded on the problems of protected water supply and sanitation among the issues of publichealth, had been reduced to 10.3 %

TABLE - 9

Mode of Articulation on the Issues of Public Health in the Legislative Assembly 1962-66.

Mode of Articulation

S. No.	Issues	1962			1963			1964			1965			1966		
		TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P
1	WSS	18	14	11	37	37	15	31	31	15	39	39	20	49	49	32
		(6.5)	(5.09)	(4.0)	(12.05)	(12.05)	(4.9)	(9.42)	(9.42)	(4.6)	(12.2)	(12.2)	(6.2)	(15.8)	(15.8)	(10.3)
2	OE	1	0	0	5	5	1	9	9	2	3	3	2	—	—	—
		(0.36)	(0)	(0)	(1.30)	(1.30)	(0.32)	(2.70)	(2.70)	(0.60)	(0.93)	(0.93)	(0.62)	—	—	—
3	PHC	6	3	3	10	9	4	11	8	4	16	16	6	15	15	6
		(2.18)	(1.09)	(1.09)	(3.25)	(2.93)	(1.30)	(3.34)	(2.43)	(1.21)	(4.98)	(4.98)	(1.82)	(4.80)	(4.80)	(1.89)
4	FADC	9	6	5	13	13	2	8	8	1	5	5	1	14	12	2
		(3.27)	(2.18)	(1.81)	(4.23)	(4.23)	(0.65)	(2.43)	(2.43)	(0.30)	(1.56)	(1.56)	(0.31)	(4.48)	(3.20)	(0.64)
5	LTB	3	3	2	7	7	4	4	4	0	10	10	4	4	4	1
		(1.09)	(1.09)	(0.72)	(2.28)	(2.28)	(1.30)	(1.21)	(1.21)	(0)	(3.12)	(3.12)	(1.24)	(1.28)	(1.28)	(0.32)

6	IHM	3	2	0	5	5	0	8	8	0	2	2	0	4	4	0
		(1.09)	(0.72)	(0)	(1.62)	(1.62)	(0)	(2.43)	(2.43)	(0)	(0.62)	(0.62)	(0)	(1.28)	(1.28)	(0)
7	HF	30	19	17	26	23	17	34	34	21	22	21	18	19	19	10
		(10.90)	(6.90)	(6.18)	(8.46)	(7.49)	(5.53)	(10.33)	(10.33)	(6.38)	(6.85)	(6.54)	(5.91)	(6.08)	(6.08)	(3.20)
8	MPSM	14	10	10	21	18	12	15	14	7	14	14	1	9	9	3
		(5.09)	(3.63)	(3.63)	(6.84)	(5.86)	(3.90)	(4.55)	(4.25)	(2.12)	(4.36)	(4.36)	(0.31)	(2.88)	(2.88)	(0.64)
9	ME	13	8	8	12	10	9	15	15	8	14	14	8	9	9	5
		(4.73)	(2.90)	(2.90)	(3.90)	(3.25)	(2.93)	(4.55)	(4.55)	(2.43)	(4.36)	(4.36)	(2.49)	(2.88)	(2.88)	(1.60)
	Total	97	65	60	136	127	65	135	131	58	125	124	60	123	121	58
	Mean	10.8	7.2	6.7	15.1	14.1	7.2	15.0	14.6	6.4	13.9	13.8	6.7	13.7	13.4	6.4
	Percentage	3.9	2.6	2.4	4.9	4.6	2.3	4.6	4.4	1.9	4.3	4.3	2.1	4.4	4.3	2.1

Source: Computed from the *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1962–1966*.

due to lack of proper mode of articulation. Lowest participation (1. 09 %) was recorded on the problems of leprosy and tuberculosis and it was reduced to (. 72 %). Even the poor representation was reduced to a minimum level due to the poor mode of articulation.

Intensity

Intensity is assessed and evaluted by using a scale evolved exclusively for this study.[68] The issues of public health namely protected water supply and sanitation, out-break of epidemics, primary health care, food adulteration and drug control, leprosy and tuberculosis, indigenous and homeopathy medical personnel and skill-mix and medical education recorded the intensity of 41. 5, 16. 5, 15, 13. 5, 15, 7. 5, 38, 18, 19 points respectively. In the scale low intensity lies in between 0-250 points for the whole term. Since the highest point 41.5 recorded on the issue of protected water supply and sanitation among the public health issues is considered as very low intensity. This weak intensity is due to poor participation of the members in the discussions, and poor performance in asking questions, moving adjournment motions, giving calling attention notices as weak mode of articulation. Thus a very poor intensity was recorded on this issue.

Generally during this period political parties' strength of participation in the discussions on the issues of public health is minimum. The participation of members in the discussions on this issue ranged between 11. 11 % and 18. 9 % during the period from 1962 to 1966. Most of the members participated from different political parties spoke on the issues in a general way. Excepting a few, the members who participated in the discussions had not gone deeper in

to the problem and they represented it only on the surface level.

There were a large number of discussions specifically meant for debates, deliberations and discussions. For instance, discussion on Governor's address is meant for discussion on policy matters; discussion on the budget and discussion on voting of demands for grants are meant for discussion on the charges framed by the members against the ruling party. But on this issue, the members had not used the discussions properly. In all the discussions, the members had expressed the same demands repeatedly. Mostly, members had not discussed the health problems in other specific discussions. Almost in all the years members availed themeselves of the discussion on Governor's address and the budget to articulate the demands. This concentration of attention of the members in the discussion on Governor's address and budget is due to the availability of more time during that period.

Serious forms of representation like no confidence motion, calling attentions, abjournment motions, half an hour dissussion and short notice questions were not frequently availed of to articulate the important problems in public health matter Over a period of five years seven calling attentions and two adjournment motions were moved by the members from different political parties over public health issues. During the period from 1962 to 1966 no confidence motions were moved twice but nobody referred to the public health problems in the above said motions. Had those forms been frequently moved in the Assembly, they would have exerted greater pressure on the authorities. To respond to the pressure the government had to either take steps to solve the problem or had to give a proper reply to the members raising the issue. But on this issue the

various political parties did not evinse much interest in using the above mentioned forms to articulate the demands effectively.

While articulating the demands of the people on this issue, it is necessary to specify the issue and mention the area. But all the members who had participated in the discussions had not specified the issue and mentioned the area. Only a limited number of members alone specified the issue and mentioned the area in respect of different issues of public health. Because of the nonspecification of the issue and non mentioning of the areas, the mode of articulation was weak. Due to the weak mode of articulation, and the low strength of participation, the intensity of the representation was reduced.

During the discussions most of the members excepting a few had not discussed the problems from policy perspective. Invariably in all the discussions, the members repeatedly asked for some facilities here and there. A few alone referred to the policy of providing primary medical care. On other issues of public health, members had not referred to policies in the discussions. So generally members in the Legislative Assembly had not analysed the issues from policy perspective. Hence most of the members in the Legislative Assembly had no policy oriented approach on this issue.

Among the political parties in the Legislative Assembly, the Congress party took a major share of the seats as a ruling party. Normally the ruling party would get more allotment of time in all the discussions because the business advisory committee allots time only on the basis of the strength of the party in the Legislative Assembly. In most of the issues on Public health more members from the Congress party participated than others and on a few issues,

the DMK members outstripped the participation of the Congress party. When the participation of the Congress members is calculated in proportion to its strength in the Legislative Assembly, it is seen that on all the issues the Congress party's participation was neither high nor more than that of the DMK. The DMK asked more questions than the ruling Congress party. Likewise Congress party members moved one adjournment motion over the issue of public health and other effective forms were not used. The DMK was the main opposition porty having fifty members in the Legislative Assembly. This party participated in the deliberations relating to all the issues. On two issues-outbreak of epidemics and Food adulteration and drug control it outstripped the participation of the ruling party in numerical strength. On a few other issues, though Congress outstripped the participation of DMK, when the participation was assessed in proportion to DMK's strength, its participation was more than that of Congress. And on question, the DMK evinced much interest and asked more number of questions on public health issues than other parties. But their interest on calling attentions and adjournment motions was not substantial. Only three calling attention notices were given on public health issues.

The other parties like the Swatantra party, the Communist Party of India, the Socialist party and the Forward bloc had participated intermittently. Among these parties, the Swatantra party participated intermittently in the discussion on most of the issues of public health during the period. The Forward bloc and the Socialist Party had not participated in the discussion on any of the issues relating to public health. The Swatantra Party took part more in the discussions on public health issues than the other parties, other than the ruling party and the main opposition in the

Legislative Assembly. Though the Communist party of India rarely participated, it moved a calling attention and an adjournment motion and a resolution on this issue during this period.

Independent members, though few in number, contributed substantially to the discussions. Members like C. Chiranjeevulu Naidu and R. S. Veerappa Chettiar continuously participated and made some worth while suggestions. Even with regard to questions, they put more question than the minor parties. Regarding primary health care and other important issues, the independent members suggested some new policy oriented solutions. In comparison with other minor parties in the Legislative Assembly, the contribution of Independent members was substantial and meaningful.

Of the issues in public health, protected water supply and sanitation and hospital facilities received much attention from the legislators At another level, issues of medical personnel and medical education received the attention of the members. Although there were other important issues in public health, that deserved greater attention, the members did not give the same importance to them as they gave to water supply and hospital facilities. For instance, issues like epidemics, primary health care and food adulteration were given poor attention.

Generally, the participation of members on public health issues was poor. The poor participation was further reduced due to the weak mode of articulation as a result of non-specification of the issues and non-mentioning of the areas. Apart from this, the forms of representation used by the members in articulating the demands were not effective. Intensive forms like calling attentions and adjournment

motions were not frequently used. Hence the intensity of the representation was very poor.

Among the issues in public health, protected water supply and sanitation received the highest points of intensity 41 5 and Indigenous and Homeopathy medical system received the lowest points of intensity 7.5 during this period. But both 41.5 points and 7.5 points on the respective issues are treated as low intensity.

EDUCATION

Like public health, there are many well defined divisions in the field of education and they are: Primary education' Secondary education, Collegiate education, facilities in the educational institutions, pattern of education, students' problems and teachers' problems. Discussion will follow on the basis of the above mentinoned classification.

Representation

Table 10 presents the picture of the political parties' interest in representing the problems of the people as regards education from 1962 to 1966. It is common that more number of members from the ruling party participated in all the discussions as they had a majority in the Legislative Assembly. The Congress party's participation was more on most issues relating to education. Even then, the DMK, the main opposition party, evinced a greater interest than the ruling party on some of the issues namely facilities in educational institution and the pattern of education. When the participation is calculated in proportion to their strength, the DMK outstripped the participation of the ruling party in all the issues excepting collegiate education. The Congress Party recorded its highest participation of 7.62% on collegiate

TABLE - 10

Representation of Political Parties on the Issues of Education 1962–1966.

S. No.	Year	Issues	Total partici-pation	Partici-pation on Education	Partici-pation on the issues	Congress	DMK	Swa-tantra	Commu-nist	Forward bloc	Socialist	Indepen-dent
		PE	272	96	25(9.19)	15(5.51)	8(2.94)	...	...	—	...	2
		SE	,,	,,	12(4.41)	10(3.67)	2(0.73)	...	...	...	...	...
		CE	,,	,,	14(5.15)	10(3.67)	3(1.10)	...	1	...	...	...
1	1962	IF	,,	,,	9(3.31)	4(1.47)	3(1.10)	...	...	...	...	1
		PAE	,,	,,	10(3.68)	3(1.10)	3(1.10)	1	2	...	...	1
		SP	,,	,,	15(5.88)	11(4.04)	3(1.10)	1	...	...	...	...
		TP	,,	,,	8(2.94)	3(1.10)	2(0.73)	1	2	...	...	...
		PE	292	72	9(3.08)	4(1.36)	3(1.02)	—	...	...	...	2
		SE	,,	,,	11(3.37)	4(1.36)	5(1.71)	1	...	...	...	1
		CE	,,	,,	14(4.79)	11(3.76)	3(1.02)	...	...	...	...	...
2	1963	IF	,,	,,	4(1.37)	1(0.34)	2(0.68)	...	—	...	...	1
		PAE	,,	,,	3(1.03)	1(0.34)	2(0.68)	...	—	...	...	...
		SP	,,	,,	2(0.68)	2(0.68)	0(0. 0)	...	...	...	...	...
		TP	,,	,,	12(4.11)	4(1.36)	4(1.36)	2	...	...	...	2

		PE	328	134	11(3.35)	7(2.13)	3(0.91)	...	...	...	...	1
		SE	,,	,,	31(9.45)	22(6.70)	9(2.74)	...	...	...	...	...
		CE	,,	,,	32(9.45)	25(7.62)	6(1.82)	...	1	...	...	...
3	1964	IF	,,	,,	11(3.35)	4(1.21)	6(1.82)	1	...	...	...	...
		PAE	,,	,,	15(4.57)	5(1.52)	6(1.82)	3	...	...	1	...
		SP	,,	,,	16(4.88)	9(2.74)	7(2.13)	...	...	...	...	...
		TP	,,	,,	15(4.57)	9(2.74)	5(1.52)	...	...	...	...	1
		PE	319	95	11(3.46)	7(2.20)	4(1.25)	...	...	...	...	...
		SE	,,	,,	6(1.89)	5(1.57)	1(0.31)	...	...	...	...	...
		CE	,,	,,	17(5.35)	12(3.77)	4(1.25)	...	...	...	...	1
4	1965	IF	,,	,,	5(1.57)	3(0.94)	2(0.62)	...	...	...	...	...
		PAE	,,	,,	8(2.52)	3(0.94)	5(1.54)	...	...	...	...	...
		SP	,,	,,	42(13.21)	22(6.91)	14(4.40)	2	1	2	1	...
		TE	,,	,,	9(2.83)	8(2.51)	0(0. 0)	1	...	...	...	...
		PE	296	70	5(1.69)	3(1.01)	1(0.33)	1	...	...	...	...
		SE	,,	,,	4(1.35)	2(0.67)	1(0.33)	...	...	...	...	1
		CE	,,	,,	14(4.73)	8(2.17)	5(1.68)	...	...	...	...	1
5	1966	IF	,,	,,	15(5.07)	5(1.68)	5(1.68)	2	...	...	...	3
		PAE	,,	,,	5(1.69)	1(0.33)	4(1.35)	...	...	...	...	...
		SP	,,	,,	5(1.69)	2(0.67)	3(1.01)	...	...	...	...	...
		TP	,,	,,	11(3.72)	6(2.02)	4(1.35)	...	...	...	...	1

Source : *Computed from Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1962-1966.*

TABLE – 14

Questions on the issues of education 1962-1966

S. No.	Year	Issues	Total Questions	Questions on Education	Questions on the Issues	Congress	DMK	Swatantra	Communist	Forward Bloc	Socialist	Independent
		PE	3331	246	12	4	3	...	4	...	...	1
		SE	,,	,,	97	33	20	10	18	2	1	13
		CE	,,	,,	78	27	8	4	34	2	0	3
1	1962	IF	,,	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		PAE	,,	,,	25	5	4	2	9	1	...	4
		SP	,,	,,	13	5	7	...	1	...	...	...
		TP	,,	,,	21	6	7	1	3	...	...	4
		PE	4796	449	65	21	23	14	2	2	1	2
		SE	,,	,,	69	22	36	1	2	2	...	6
		CE	,,	,,	101	24	47	14	4	3	...	9
2	1963	IF	,,	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		PAE	,,	,,	92	27	48	4	4	3	...	6
		SP	,,	,,	77	29	29	9	4	2	3	1
		TP	,,	,,	45	18	20	2	2	1	...	2

		PE	4463	344	26	17	9	...	...	...	...	...
		SE	,,	,,	130	18	80	10	17	...	...	5
		CE	,,	,,	136	32	68	8	15	7	...	6
3	1964	IF	,,	,,	2	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
		PAE	,,	,,	9	2	5	...	2	...	...	...
		SP	,,	,,	4	...	3	...	1	...	...	...
		TP	,,	,,	38	7	29	...	2	...	...	...
		PE	4624	389	30	12	10	3	4	...	...	1
		SE	,,	,,	98	29	61	3	4	...	...	1
		CE	,,	,,	136	45	64	8	14	4	...	1
4	1965	IF	,,	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		PAE	,,	,,	20	10	8	1	1	...	...	...
		SP	,,	,,	60	16	40	2	2	...	...	...
		TP	,,	,,	45	14	21	7	1	2	...	...
		PE	4196	380	46	10	18	9	6	...	...	3
		SE	,,	,,	77	32	30	4	10	...	...	1
		CE	,,	,,	81	37	4	4	...	...	...	...
5	1966	IF	,,	,,	26	10	10	2	4	...	...	...
		PAE	,,	,,	44	20	20	3	1	...	...	...
		SP	,,	,,	24	14	9	...	1	...	...	...
		TP	,,	,,	83	27	48	4	1	...	...	3

Source : Computed from *Madras Legislative Assembly, Debates, Official Reports 1962–1966.*

education, and its lowest being .33% on the pattern of education during the period. Likewise the DMK registered its highest participation of 4.4% on students' problem and the lowest participation of .31% on Secondary education. As in the case of public health the Swatantra party and the Communist Party of India seldom participated in the discussions on education. The Forward bloc and the Socialist Party participated only on rare occassions. Independents participated intermittently. On questions, DMK evinced greater interest than the ruling party as shown in Table 11. the Swatantra and the Communist Party of India asked a minimum number of questions compared to the ruling and the main opposition parties. The other parties asked a minimum number of questions. The contribution of the Independents, though they were a few in number, was considerable.

Articulation

Primary education is the basis for development of the society. However, the primary education in Tamil Nadu has very many defects which will have to be rectified so as to build up a good system of primary education. Regarding the problems and perspectives of the policy, members expressed their views.

The Majority of the Congress Party members and a few DMK members appreciated the government for its policy on Primary education and implementing the mid-day meal scheme.[69] It is to be noted that two members from the Congress Party, a few DMK members and an Independent member criticised the mid-day meal scheme as one very unsound in principle by introducing the scheme the government was degarding the people. The members who criticised the scheme were not able to substantiate their arguments.

Just to oppose the measure the members criticised the policy.[70] Earlier it was noted that a few DMK members appreciated the introduction of this scheme but a majority of the members of the same party criticised the scheme. It is strange to note that even the ruling party members criticised this scheme. A Congress Party member C. Kulanthaiammal rightly asked the government to be very cautious in implementing the mid-day meal scheme, with a view to ensuring its success.[71] The members mostly from the DMK and a few from the Congress Party drew the attention of the government to the poor management of the Panchayat Unions and the low standards in primary schools and wanted the government to take over the Panchayat Union Primary Schools.[72] While a majority of the members who spoke wanted the government to take over the Panchayat Union Schools as a solution to the poor management, K. Narayanasamy Pillai of Congress alone suggested that a separate directorate be formed to administer primary education.[73]

In 1965 DMK members called upon the government to start more number of schools as per the government's policy of starting a school for every 300 people.[74] A few Congress members pleaded for more schools in their constituencies.[75]

Corresponding to the increase in the number of primary scnools, there had been no increase in the number of secondary schools. Hence most of the students were not able to find seats to pursue their secondary education. Members in the Legislative Assembly demanded more high schools to boys and girls. Members from the Congress, the DMK, the Swatantra and the Independent group demanded secondary schools to their constituencies.[76] While demanding secondary schools to their constituencies, the members did not substantiate their claim. Thus far members demanded

high schools. Four members from the Congress Party demanded more technical schools in the state and they explained that through technical education alone economic development could be achieved.[77]

In 1965, a few members, from the Congress Party generally appreciated the government for its policy on secondary education.[78]

Three Congress members in 1962 requested the government to give free education upto the secondary stage.[79] The members indirectly emphasised the constitutional aspect. Under the directive principles the state is to ensure free and compulsory education for children upto the age of 14.[80] Here it is to be noted that in 1964, the government announced the policy of free education upto the secondary stage. A number of Congress members complimented the government for its introduction of free education upto the secondary level.[81] The Congress, the DMK and the Independent members demanded the immediate take over of Board High Schools from the district boards as members demanded earlier the take over of Panchayat Union Primary schools by the government.[82] S. Madhavan, a DMK member, suggested that the government should form a separate directorate to administer district board high schools.[83]

It is to be noted that S. Srinivasan, a member of the Congress Party gave a policy-suggestion that the government should frame a new policy by which the students would be able to complete their high school studies before they complete 15 years of age.[84] In all the five years, the main thrust of the discussion was in commending the government for its policy of free education upto secondary education and asking for more high schools. Further, a few members demanded that government take over the board high schools.

As more and more high schools were established, the number of students produced from the high schools increased, correspondingly resulting in a rush in colleges. It was necessary to open more colleges to accommodate the students. Members from the Congress and the DMK appealed to the government repeatedly to start colleges at various places[85] so as to absorb the increasing number of students. They also requested the government to start evening colleges, polytechnics and engineering colleges.[86] During the same period, three members from the Congress Party made their plea to the authoritiest to start Universities at Madurai and Coimbatore.[87] The proposal for starting a new University at Madurai was announced in 1964. The members form Congress and DMK appreciated the government for the above announcement.[88] Regarding the functioning of the Universities, M. Kalyanasundaram, a Communist member doubted the efficient functioning of the Universities and asked the government to amend the Universities' Act to suit the existing conditions.[89] Following the above argument, a DMK member K. A. Mathialagan vehemently criticised the functioning of Annamalai University and expressed the view that the University had been under a single man's control and the funds were misappropriated. Further he requested the govt to amend the Annamalai University Act immediately.[90] As independent member C. Chiranjeevulu Naidu touched a very vital aspect relating to Universities. He stated that the Universities had not given much importance to research and he requested the govt improve the existing condition of research in the Universities.[91] Members from Congress and DMK touched another aspect of the Universities namely the admission of students in colleges and universities. Here again they requested the government to increase the seats in the colleges so as to accommodate more students.[92] In order to invite the attention of the government to the question of increasing

the seats in the Colleges, S. Madhavan a DMK member and M. Kalyanasundaram, a Communist Party member gave two calling attention notices and moved an adjournment motion on the subject: "paucity of Seats" in the colleges.[93]

Pressure from the public as well as the policy of the government led to a large number of institutions being started. But owing to varions reasons including financial constraints the government was not able to provide sufficient facilities to the educational institutions. This attracted the attention of the legislators and represented other grievances also.

Members from the Congress, the DMK and the Swatantra repeatedly demanded more buildings for schools and colleges generally and a few specified the areas where additional buildings were needed and especially to Salem College, Kattumannargudi School, Periapalayam School, Valparai School, Vellanur High School and Kanyakumari schools in all the five years.[94] Without giving any reason, most of the members simply demanded building facilities for schools and colleges. In 1964, M. Kalyanasundaram, a Communist Party member moved an adjournment motion and V. Sankaran, a Congress member moved a calling tatention notice with regard to the collapse of the Saraswathinarayanan High School building in Madurai.[95]

Regarding other facilities only a few members from the DMK and the Swatantra demanded laboratory and library facilities for the schools. Though the members touched on this issue, they did not indicate the schools where the facilities were needed.[96]

It was a general and vague criticism of the DMK, the Swatantra and the Independent members that the standard

of education was deteriorating day by day and the government remained a silent spectator without taking any steps to improve the standard.[97] While discussing the causes for the poor standard of education, members mostly from the DMK and only one from the Congress attributed it to the frequent change of pattern of education and the unaltered syllabus. They were for updating the syllabus.[98] Though most of the members wanted a change of syllabus they did not come out with any constructive suggestions to modify the syllabus. Sa. Ganesan, a Swatantra party member, and K R. Nallasivam, a socialist party member (in 1964) indicated that there was a lack of meaningful relation between the present syllabus and the society and suggested that the government might adopt foreign Universities' syllabus in the educational institutions so that socially relevant courses could be offered in them.[99] Rightly, a few members from the Congress and the DMK suggested that the college syllabus must include subjects like 'Freedom Movement' physical education and Fine Arts. Further, they suggested that National Cadet Corps system should be included in the school curriculum.[100]

The members of the Congress party alone demanded the introduction of post-graduate courses in the colleges and requested the government to continue with as medium of instruction in the schools.[101] Rama. Arangannal, a DMK member, gave a notice of calling attention on the poor response of the students to the Tamil Medium courses in the Arts Colleges.[102] Yet another important point was made by M. Kalyanasundaram, a Communist party member in the Legislative Assembly that there were a large number of errors in the text books prescribed in the schools and he substantiated his accusation by reading out the text books in the House and requested the government to see to it that text books were published without errors.[103] In 1962 there was an acute demand for text books for which one calling

attention notice was given by a DMK member[104] and one adjournment motion was moved by a Communist party member.[105] Another adjournment motion was moved by a DMK member M. V. Karivenkatam in 1965 on the delay in supplying SSLC books.[106] A DMK member accused the government of having misappropriated the foreign fund meant for publishing books at cheaper rate.[107]

As the educational institutions absorbed a large number of students, it created multi faceted problems from maintaining discipline to providing financial assistance to the students for their studies. It covered a wide range of activities to be done for the welfare of the students. Legislators had indicated some of the problems in the assembly.

Regarding the students' problems, the legislators gave priority in financial assistance to the socially backward students. Normally scholarships were awarded to the students whose parents' income did not exceed Rs. 1200 per year. But in the year 1962, the government increased the income limit from Rs. 1200 to Rs. 1500 for the award of scholarship. The members of the Congress and Swantantra parties, while appreciating the new policy of raising the income limit for the award of scholarship, requested the government to increase the income limit still further to Rs. 2500 and to Rs. 4000.[108] It is significant to note that two Congress members in 1963 insisted that scholarship and fee concessions be given to poor students belonging to all sections irrespective of the community.[109] Normally scholarships were awarded to the poor students belonging to the socially backward communities. But those two members wanted scholarship for all sections of the people. In 1964 the government announced a new scheme of loan-scholarship to the poor

students. The Congress party members, while appreciating the new scheme, demanded scholarships and fee concessions to be extended to 10% of the poor students from all sections. Further, they demanded free education upto the degree class.[110]

Yet another demand made by the DMK members and a few members from the Congress party was, increase in the accommodation and other facilities in the hostels.[111]. Three DMK members requested the authorities to render more help in providing financial assistance and other facilities to the backward class students.[112]

In 1964 and 1965, there was an agitation throughout Tamil Nadu against the imposition of Hindi in the educational institutions by the Government. The students participated in the agitation in large numbers and this resulted in closure of the educational institutions. The DMK members while speaking on the agitation supported the students and justified their participation in the agitation and foisted the blame on the government saying that its language policy was the cause of all the problems in this regard.[113] Refuting the charge of the DMK, the Congress party members held the DMK responsible for the widespread unrest in the state in this regard. The Congress members added that the DMK party instigated the students, with a view to using the students for their political ends.[114] During 1964, 1965 and 1966 totally three calling attentions and three adjournment motions were moved The Communist Party of India and the DMK moved two calling attentions and two adjournment motions each and one calling attention and one adjournment motion were moved by DMK and the Communist Party of India jointly over the incidents which occurred in the educational institutions during the Hindi agitation.[115]

The Congress party and the DMK were blaming each other on this issue and the other parties namely the Swatantra party, the Forward bloc, the Communist party of India and the Socialist party felt that though the DMK had instigated the public and the students to agitate against the ggvernment over the issue, ultimately the governmet's policy of suppression had really aggravated the situation.[116]

Like the problems of students, the problems of teachers are also equally important. There are problems and grievances for the teachers. Unless the grievances of the teachers are redressed, the contribution of teachers in the educational institutions would be a negative one. To maintain the standard, discipline and high 'output' in the educational institutions, it was all the more important to protect the interest of teachers.

The members from the Congress, the DMK, the Communist and Swatantra parties expressed the view that the existing strength of teachers in the schools in proportion to the strength of students was inadequate. They urged the government to appoint more teachers in the schools. Further, they indicated that there were no facilities to teachers and requested the authorities to do something by way of providing adequate facilities to them.[117] But most of the members had not mentioned the schools where teachers were to be appointed. In 1964 a DMK member K. Govindan moved a calling attention on the shortage of teachers in the Board High Schools in North Arcot District. He again moved a resolution for fixing the teacher-pupil ratio, but it was withdrawn.[118]

Regarding the teachers' salary, the members of the Congress and the DMK requested the authorities to increase

the salary of the teachers.[119] But the members did not specify whether to increase the salary of the teachers of the elementary Schools or high schools or colleges. Generally they demanded an increase in the salary of the teachers.

Another important problem was the disbursement of salary to the teachers in the private management schools. It was a complaint that private managements did not disburse the salary to the teachers regularly. The members from the Congress and the Independent group urged the government to directly disburse the salary of the teachers of the private management schools.[120]

Yet another important problem discussed in the legislative Assembly was the transfer of teachers working in Panchayat Union Schools. The DMK members while speaking on the transfer of teachers in the Panchayat Union Schools, pointed out that the teachers were transferred arbitrarily and requested the authorities to adopt a uniform policy.[121]

Another issue discussed in the Legislative Assembly was the problems of the teachers of the Kanyakumari District. When the states were reorganised in 1956, the Kanyakumari District was separated from the Travancore-Cochin state and merged with Tamil Nadu. The teachers in this district were not regularised in the Tamil Nadu State service. The Congress Party members and Independent members impressed upon the authorities the need to attend to the problem immediately.[122]

The Congress party and the Swatantra party members brought to the notice of the government the fact that the teachers in the schools and colleges were actively participating in political activities and they were responsible for the

students' indiscipline. So they requested the authorities to take necessary steps to curb the political activities of the teachers.[123]

Mode of Articulation

It is observed from the table 12 that the highest participation – 9.45% was reduced to 0.68% on the issues of secondary education and the lowest participation – 0.68% was reduced to 0% on the problems of the students due to the weak mode of articulation as a result of non-specifying the issues and areas. The strength of participation was further weakened and ultimately it could not create any pressure on the government because it did not intensify the issue in the Legislative Assembly. On all the issues of education the strength of participation was further weakened and thus resulted in a weak mode of articulation. Consequently it has weakened the intensity.

Intensity

Legislator's totally recorded the intensity of 13. 5, 16. 8, 32, 12, 17, 28. 7. 15 scores on the issues relating to education namely primary education, secondary education, collegiate education, facilities in the educational institutions, pattern of education, student's problems and teachers' problems respectively. Students' problems received highest points of intensity in representation during that period and which is considered as the low intensisy as per the intensity scale evolved for this study. The scale denotes that the points in between 0-50 are considered as the low intensity of representation for a year. The low intensity for a period of five years is that between 0-250 points and for the whole period one of the main issues of education received highest and other issues 28. 7 points of intensity

and it is deemed as very low intensity of representation as per the scale.

Generally during this period the participation of members in the discussions on the matters of education was low as on public health. But when compared with the participation of legislators in the discussions on public health, the participation of members on education was greater. The participation ranges between 17.85 % and 36.60 % during the period from 1962 to 1966. Though the participation on this issue was more than the participation on public health the members had not touched upon all the aspects of the problems in the discussion on education. Most of the members repeated the same demands which had been raised already during other discussions. But on public health to some extent they touched upon new aspects of the problem. As in the case of publie health, members did not specify the issue, nor did they mention the area. Most of the members' representations on education were far too general and vague.

On this issue, unlike public health, more number of calling attentions and adjournment motions were moved during this period. Totally, nine calling attention and eleven adjournment motions were moved. Members availed themselves of the no confidence motions to articulate the demands. As compared with the representation on public health, the representation on education was more. But the small number of calling attentions and adjournment motions over a period of five years was a bare minimum. Further, most of the adjournment motions and calling attentions were moved over the students' problems. No confidence motion was an effective form to articulate the demands. During discussion members repeated the same demands on no

TABLE - 12

Mode of Arsiculation on the Issues of Education in the Legislative Assembly 1962–1966.

S. No. Issues	Mode of Articulation														
	1962			1963			1964			1965			1966		
	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P
1 PE	25	16	3	9	6	2	11	9	0	11	11	0	5	5	1
	(9.19)	(5.88)	(1.10)	(3.08)	(2.05)	(0.68)	(3.35)	(2.74)	0	(3.46)	(3.4)	0	(1.69)	(1.69)	(0.34)
2 SE	12	5	1	11	5	1	31	25	1	6	5	1	4	4	2
	(4.41)	(1.84)	(0.37)	(3.37)	(1.71)	(0.34)	(9.45)	(7.62)	(0.30)	(1.89)	(1.57)	(0.31)	(1.35)	(1.35)	(0.68)
3 CE	14	12	4	14	10	4	31	20	12	17	15	6	14	11	7
	(5.15)	(4.41)	(1 47)	(4.79)	(3.42)	(1.37)	(9.45)	(6.10)	(3.66)	(5.35)	(4.72)	(1.89)	(4.73)	(3.72)	(2.36)
4 IE	9	4	0	4	3	1	11	9	0	5	5	0	15	15	2
	(3.31)	(1.47)	(0)	(1.37)	(1.03)	(0.34)	(3.35)	(2.74)	(0)	(1.57)	(1.57)	(0)	(5.07)	(5.07)	(0.68)
5 PAE	10	5	0	3	2	0	15	10	1	8	7	0	5	5	0
	(3.68)	(1.84)	(0)	(1.03)	(0.68)	(0)	(4.57)	(3.05)	(0.30)	(2.52)	(2.20)	(0)	(1.69)	(1.69)	(0)

6 SP	16	14	1	2	2	0	16	12	4	42	35	4	5	5	2
	(5.88)	(5.15)	(0.37)	(0.68)	(0.68)	(0)	(4.88)	(3.66)	(1.22)	(13.21)	(11.01)	(1.26)	(1.69)	(1.69)	(0.68)
7 TP	8	6	2	12	8	2	15	7	0	9	8	2	11	11	2
	(2.94)	(2.21)	(0.74)	(4.11)	(2.74)	(0.68)	(4.57)	(2.13)	(0)	(2.83)	(2.52)	(0.63)	(3.72)	(3.72)	(0.68)
Total	94	62	11	59	36	10	130	92	18	98	86	13	59	56	16
Mean	13.4	8.2	1.6	8.4	5.1	1.4	18.6	13.1	2.6	14.0	12.4	1.9	8.4	8.0	2.3
Per-centage	4.0	3.2	0.6	2.6	1.6	0.4	5.7	3.9	0.8	4.2	3.7	0.6	2.8	2.6	0.8

Source: Computed from the *Mapras (Tamil Nadu) Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1962-1966.*

confidence motions as those raised in other discussion instead of charging the governmet for not taking steps to improve conditions. Even though to some extent those forms were used, the way in which the demands were articulated in these forms reduced the effectiveness of the representation.

Most of the members during the discussions had not analysed the problems of education in the light of the educational policy of Tamil Nadu. A few atleast rightly were critical of the policy of government. Thus rarely members analysed the problems of education in the light of the policy of the government.

The Congress party got more time to represent the grievances of the people. On most of the issues except institutional facilities and pattern of education, the Congress party utilised more number of its members to aratculate the demands. But, on all the issues, excepting the issue of collegiate education the participation of the Congress party was less than DMK in proportion to its strength in the Legislative Assembly. As in the case of participation, the Congress members asked less number of questions on education than DMK. Further, the Congress party was not interested in giving calling attentions and adjournment motions. Because of public pressure they resorted to calling attention and adjournment motions only in respect of education. Being the ruling party, it did not want to exert pressure on the government.

Next to the ruling party, the DMK the main opposition party, participated in the discussions. Obviously less number of hours were allotted to DMK according to its strength. The DMK member's availed themselves of the opportunities and participated in the discussions on almost all the issues. On the issue of pattern of education and

institutional facilities numerically more number of DMK members participated in the discussions than the congress. The DMK members asked more number of questions than the Congress party, moved seven adjournment motions and three calling attentions over the issues of education. It seemed that to some extent, the DMK wanted to use effective forms to create pressure. But the calling attentions and adjournment motions centered on the anti Hindi agitation. Though less time was allotted, the DMK participated effectively in greater proportion to its strength.

The other parties such as the Swatantra party, the Communist party of India, the Socialist party and the Forward Bloc participated in the discussions on the subjects connected with education intermittently. Among these parties, the Swatantra party paid a little more attention than other parties, to the discussions. But this party gave greater importance to problems of public health than it did to the problems relating to education. Next to the DMK, the Communist party of India moved three adjournment motions and two calling attentions over the issues of education. It asked more number of questions than the Swatantra party. Though less number of members participated in the discussions, through calling attentions, adjournment motions and questions, the Communist members wanted to bring pressure on the government. The other parties like the Socialist Party and Forward Bloc had but a minor role in the discussions.

Like the other parties, Independent members participated in the discussions. Independent members participated in the discussions even more than the members of other parties like the Swatantra, the Communist, the Forward Bloc, and the Socialist party. Independent members touched upon some important aspects of education. Thus their

contribution in this field was also realistic and substantial. Issues like primary education, secondary education and collegiate education received much of the attention of the members. But it is unfortunate that a number of important problems relating to educatton was not given proper attention in the Legislative Assembly by the members.

Thus, the participation of the legislators on the issues of education was low. But as compared with public health, it was more. Hence participation was reduced further due to the members' non-specification of the issues and areas and non-availing of more effective forms to articulate the demands in the Legislative Assembly. So generally the intensity of the representation was poor.

Section III

AUTHORITATIVE ALLOCATION OF VALUES (OUTPUT)

In this section, policies, decisions and money allocation (output) corresponding to the representation of the legislators on the issues of public health and education are discussed. Authoritative allocation of values (output) consists of policies, decisions, and money allocations approved by the Legislative Assembly. Every year decisions are taken and administrative work is carried out only on the basis of the money allocated and direction given by the authorities. Performance of the government corresponding to the demands of the representatives are discussed here. The same pattern of classification of the issues which are discussed in the earlier sections is followed here. No analysis is involved in this section. The relationship between the demands of the legislators and the response of the government are elaborately discussed in the fifth chapter. Here the performance of the government in the respective departments alone is discussed.

Public Health

Table 13 presents a picture portraying the money allocated in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly for public health from 1962 to 1966. It is observed from the table that there was not much variation in the money allocation except in one particular year. In all the four years from 1962 to 1965 the allocation varies from 7.34% to 7.74%. In 1966 allocation was increased by one per cent.

TABLE - 13

Total Money Allocation for Public Health from 1962 to 1966

S.No.	Year	Total Percentage of Money Allocation for Public Health
1	1962	7.34
2	1963	7.67
3	1964	7.61
4	1965	7.74
5	1966	8.22

Source: Computed from the *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official reports 1962-1966.*

Performance of the government in the case of each issue in public health is discussed here.

i) Protected Water Supply and Sanitation

The Government's activities on protected water supply and sanitation from 1962 to 1966 are portrayed here.

In 1962 totally 255 lakhs of rupees were allotted for protected water supply, water supply and sanitation in the cities, towns and villages. Rs. 100 lakhs for corporations, Rs. 141 lakhs for urban areas and Rs. 14 lakhs for rural areas were provided in the budget allotment. Six new protected water supply schemes, 75 water supply schemes (including the improvement of existing systems) and 13 new drainage schemes were sanctioned that year for which Rs. 117.84 lakhs were allocated. Further, to improve the condition, 39 water supply schemes and 10 drainage schemes were under investigation, and 25 water supply schemes and 5 drainage schemes were in different stages of design. Water analysis branch tested the samples of water in 10,344 different places and orders had been passed to test the areas periodically. Yet another decision taken was to start a Department, called Department of Public Health Engineering and Municipal Works which would look after water supply and drainage in the State. Apart from this, assurances had been given by the Minister to provide the people with protected water supply, and water supply in a phased manner and sewage scheme were to be implemented very soon.[124]

In the year 1963, an amount of Rs. 229 lakhs was allotted for protected water supply. Of the Rs. 229 lakhs allotted, Rs. 115 lakhs were for corporations, Rs. 110 lakhs for urban areas and Rs. 4 lakhs for rural areas. 34 water supply projects and 10 drainage projects were under various stages of investigation and 24 water supply projects and drainage projects were under design. The Government sanctioned Rs. 124.15 lakhs for 18 water supply schemes and 6 drainage schemes during this year. A total of 8,182 samples of water were tested.[125] Money allocation was less, compared to the previous year. Likewise, the chalking out

of schemes was also less than the previous year. In the year 1962, an amount Rs. 14 lakhs was allotted and it was reduced to Rs. 4 lakhs in this year.

In 1964 the Government approved of and sanctioned Rs. 287 lakhs for protected water supply of which 180 lakhs were for Corporation Water Supply and Drainage, 105 lakhs for urban water supply and 2 lakhs for rural water supply. Though the amount sanctioned for protected water supply was more than that in the previous year, the amount sanctioned for rural areas was reduced. Further, the Government sanctioned 146.59 lakhs of rupees for 13 water supply projects. 32 water supply and 10 drainage projects were under investigation and 24 water supply and 5 drainage schemes were being designed. Water analysis at various places was continued and as many as 8524 samples were tested.[126] An assurance was given in the Assembly by the Minister in charge Public Health that water supply to the rural areas would be a reality very soon and it would be implemented in a phased manner. Koovam drainage scheme would be started within a short span of time.[127]

In 1965 authorities admitted that the allocations on medical service were not adequate and justifiable and most of the programmes were deferred due to National emergency and now the authorities stated that they would allocate more money for Medical Service. The Government had allotted Rs. 175 lakhs for water supply and drainage in corporations and for water supply in urban areas it allotted Rs. 146 lakhs. Thus totally 321 lakhs of rupees were sanctioned. Rural areas were left out of consideration 38 water supply and 14 drainage projects were under investigation, and 28 water supply and 3 drainage schemes were under design. Water supply in Madurai hospital was under

investigation. Regarding water supply and drainage, the Government had schemes to solve the problems in the near future - IV Five Year Plan to water analysis continued in this year also.[128]

In 1966 totally Rs. 89.97 lakhs of rupees were sanctioned for water supply and 4.44 lakhs for drainage. 51 water supply and 18 drainage projects were under investigation and 37 water supply and 4 drainage schemes were being designed, The allocation of money was reduced to 89.97 lakh of rupees from Rs. 321 lakhs. There was no consistency in money allocation.

ii) Outbreak of Epidemics

In 1962 it was reported that the State was completely free from cholera and only sporadic incidences were reported and steps were taken to keep them under control. Totally 4,97,700 anti-cholera inoculations were performed. Small-pox continued to prevail in almost all the districts. The National Small-pox Eradication Scheme was extended to North Arcot and other districts. 70,959 vaccinations and 17,79,720 revaccinations were made during this year. 1,50,485 anti-plague inoculations in Salem district and 18,787 in Coimbatore were performed. Malaria Eradication Programme was continued.[129]

During 1963, 35,61,730 anti inoculations were performed for cholera. Speedy steps were taken, because this year witnessed a severe attack of cholera (12,018 attacks and 4,930 deaths). Small-pox continued to prevail. 6,02,724 vaccinations and 98,61,906 revaccinations were performed. Malaria eradication programme was continued. To fight cholera, plague, typhoid, 154 Health Inspectors were appointed.[130]

In the year 1964 intensive preventive measures were taken because 10,784 attacks and 4,042 deaths occurred due to cholera, 5,257 attacks and 1,343 deaths occurred due to small-pox. 8,36,087 vaccinations and 1,11,95,290 revaccinations were performed on a mass scale. 87,900 anti - plague inoculations were performed. Malaria Eradication programme was continued and Mobile Epidemic units did their best to contain those epidemics.[131]

In 1965 effective steps were taken to prevent cholera and small-pox as they were prevalent-(3,054 attacks and 724 deaths) Hence 12,34,497 primary vaccinations and 85,90,945 revaccinations were performed during the year. National Malaria Eradication Programme was continued and 6 mobile epidemic units functioned.

It was reported in 1966 that 2330 attacks and 549 deaths were due to cholera while 786 attacks and 173 deaths were due to small-pox in the State. Mass vaccination campaign were continued. National Small-Pox Eradication Programme successfully completed its work. A total of 19,09,207 primary vaccinations and 67,51,689 revaccinations were carried out in 1966.[133]

iii) Primary Health Care

It was proposed to open 40 Primary Health Centres during 1962-1963, and for this purpose, a sum of Rs. 13.02 lakhs was sanctioned in the budget. In view of emergency, the construction of Primary Health Centres was suspended and only 10 Primary Health Centres were completed. The administration of Primary Health Centres and Maternity Centres were transferred to Panchayat Union Councils. Already it was the policy of the Government to have one maternity centre for a population of 10,000. Nutrition survey was being carried out.[134]

Four Primary Health Centres were opened during 1963. The Government sanctioned opening of six Maternity Centres and Child Welfare Centres in the Municipalities. A sum of Rs. 4,02,577 was sanctioned to the local bodies as maintenance grant to maintain the maternity and Child Welfare Centres. UNICEF gave assistance for this. Nutrition samples were analysed. Under the direction of the Central Government, the State Government had to stop the sanctioning of Primary Health Centres in view of the emergency. The Government was providing facilities to Primary Health Centres within the available and limited resources.[135]

Seven Primary Health Centres were opened during 1964. Nutrition Survey was conducted and analysed. All other usual work in connection with it had been carried out.[136]

In the 1965 budget, it was emphasised that schemes had to be chalked out to provide more facilities to the rural areas and so the Government had sanctioned 120 Primary Health Centres. Schemes suspended during the time of emergency were revived. 23 Primary Health Centres had been established. The Government strongly reiterated that each Panchayat Union should have one Primary Health Centre, and supply of medicines would be regularised in course of time.[137]

54 Primary Health Centres were established in 1966. 9 Maternity and Child Welfare Centres and 6 Maternity homes were opened during this year. In the Minister's reply, it was assured that housing facilities to the Primary Health Centres would be implemented very soon in a phased manner. Further, it was asserted that doctors in Primary Health Centres drew 100 rupees as special allowance. Wherever needed maternity centres would be provided with more facilities.[137a]

iv) Food Adulteration and Drug Control

In 1962 to test the food materials, samples were taken and analysed and it was found that 25% of the samples were adulterated. The government brought to book the guilty. For drugs sales, 4,681 licences were given. Drugs were tested to assess the quality and for the purpose 421 samples had been taken. The Government had enrolled 18 institutions with medical store department for the supply of medicines. In the Minister's reply, it was asserted that the government could not reduce the prices of the drugs but Food adulteration could be dealt with.[137b]

During 1963, 24% of adulteration was found in the samples and cases were booked against the culprits. During this year 1636 licences were given for sale of drugs and 57 licences were given for manufacturing drugs.[138]

26% of samples were found to be adulterated and cases were registered against the guilty in 1964. 2,004 sale licences, and 42 manufacturing licences were given. During this year 9 institutions in Madras with medical stores were enrolled for the supply of medicines.[139]

In 1965, 27.5% of adulteration was found in the samples analysed and cases were booked against the culprits. 2045 sales licences and 74 manufacturing licences were issued. 14 new institutions with medical stores were enrolled for the supply of medicines. Drugs were also tested. Out of 439 samples, 55 were found to be defective. The Minister stated that medicines would be available easily.[140]

In the year 1966, 23% of the samples analysed were found adulterated and cases were booked against the people concerned. The Government had constituted a standing advisory committee for prevention of Food Adulteration with

the representatives of the trade associations as members to advise them in regard to the implementation of the scheme. 2542 sales licences and 114 manufacturing licences were given. Drug inspections were made periodically. 7662 sales concerns and 713 manufacturing concerns were also inspected. The Minister for Public Health announced that the State was taking several steps to prevent adulteration. He further assured the House/members that the drugs supplied to the hospitals were of a good quality.[141]

v) **Leprosy and Tuberculosis**

In 1962, 5 leprosy units were sanctioned and 3 units were opened. 14 tuberculosis centres continued to function. one workers' training centre was started.[142]

During the year 1963 the Government sanctioned 2 Leprosy Control Units at Krishnagiri and Sivagiri in addition to the tuberculosis clinics. A new Demonstration and Training Centre at Madras started functioning in 1963.[143]

During the year 1964 all 7 Leprosy control units included in the Third Five Year Plan were established. 16 survey education and treatment units in the State including 15 new units were opened during this year. For tuberculosis patients, a new scheme was chalked out by which medicines were delivered at their door. One training centre for workers in the T. B. Clinics was established.[144]

44 Survey Education and Treatment Units and one Training Centre were established in 1965. It was proposed to start a Leprosy Hospital at Peelamedu. The Government and voluntary agencies in the state examined 29.89 lakhs of cases and found 63415 leprosy patients. The chest clinics attached to the Government headquarters hospitals were

upgraded as district tuberculosis centres and one new tuberculosis centre was established at Nagercoil Government Hospital. One X-ray plant was installed at the district tuberculosis centre. A separate tuberculosis officer was also appointed.[145]

In 1966 one control unit and six survey education and treatment units were sanctioned. The Government sanctioned the expansion of the leprosy subsidiary centres at Vridhachalam, Kodumudi, Thiruvannamalai, Aruppukkottai and Thuckalay. Facilities were also increased.[146]

vi) Indigenous and Homeopathy Medical System

In 1962 it was proposed to start a new college of Indian medicines which came into existence at Palayamkottai, in 1964. First, Siddha education was imparted. It was temporarily located at Palayamkottai and later transferred to Courtalam. In 1965, bed facilities were provided at this hospital and another proposal was mooted to start a hospital at Arumbakkam near Madras. All these five years these were the only significant developments.[147]

vii) Hospital Facilities

During the year 1962, the bed strength was increased in 23 Government hospitals by 891. To construct buildings at Devakottai dispensaries a sum of 6.59 lakhs of rupees was sanctioned. It was proposed to upgrade the Arantangi dispensary into a Taluk headquarters hospital. Money was sanctioned to construct new buildings at Bodinayakkanur and Kolachel and to install an X-ray plant in the Sivagangai hospital.[148]

In 1963, the Government sanctioned 213 beds at eight Government hospitals. The Government approved and sanctioned Rs. 46,000 for the extension of the Government hospital at Lalgudi and 7.35 lakhs for the Kovilpatti hospital. It was proposed to start a hospital with 500 beds at South Madras.[149]

During 1964 the construction of new hospitals at Polur, Vandiwash and Arni was completed. A new district headquarters hospital at Ramanathapuram was completed. During this year 3 local fund medical institutions were taken over by the Government. Bed strength was also increased. For shifting the Kilpauk Medical College to Tirunelveli and to construct buildings for the Medical College as well as the attached hospital, a sum of rupees 5 lakh was sanctioned to begin with.[150]

The construction of a block in Mettupalayam hospital, a ward in Rani Hospital at Pudukkottai, a new building for Tanjore Medical College and hospital, hospital a laboratory at Coimbatore were completed during the year 1965. The Government sanctioned the construction of a 100 bed maternity ward in the hospitals. Theni was provided with Medical facility.[151]

The Government dispensary at Ayakkudi was completed during the year 1966. The bed strength at Salem, Vellore and Kovilpatti hospitals was raised by 224. The Panchayat Union Dispensary at Cheyyar was taken over by the Government. The Government sanctioned the opening of Panchayat Union regular dispensaries at Pulliyadi, Uppilipalayam, Pamangudi, Malayandipalayam, Sendurai and Pongalur and one Government hospital each at Ayyampatti and Madhavaram in Chingleput district.[152]

viii) Medical Personnel and Skill-mix

In 1962 while discussing the complaints and demands of the legislators in connection with the medical personnel's affairs, the minister for public health gave a categorical answer that all demands were under consideration and the Staff quarters had been completed.[153]

During 1963 responding to the members' demand for more doctors at the hospitals, the minister for public health announced that due to the paucity of doctors, it was impossible to appoint more doctors in the hospitals. It was also pointed out that doctors' private practice could not be abolished because the government did not have the capacity to absorb all the doctors in the Government service and the minister reported that Rs. 50 per month as compensatory allowance has been offered already to the doctors working in the rural areas 96 houres these constructed in the rural nreas to accommodate the doctors.[154]

In 1964, the minister for public health replying to the complaints of members about the doctors' inhuman treatment of the patients said that steps would be taken to deal with them, if the cases were specified. Turning down the request of the members to increase the salary of the doctors, the minister stated that salary of the doctors was not insufficient and that they were getting a fair salary. Hence the question did not arise. During the year, assistant surgeons were appointed but it was kept in abeyance due to National emergency.[155]

A number of additional posts of nursing staff in different categories were also sanctioned in various Government hospitals in the State in 1965. The minister for public health stated in the Legislative Assembly that paucity of doctors would continue for some time to come and the

Government would take necessary steps to improve the condition. The minister added that the Government was thinking of constructing houses for the doctors.[156]

In 1966 the Government sanctioned Rs. 100 as a special allowance to the doctors who were working in the Primary Health Centres. Quarters for the nursing staff in the Government hospitals at Thiruvallur, Ponneri and Cumbum were completed. More than 150 posts of nursing staff were created to solve the shortage of nurses in the Government hospitals. It was decided to provide the doctors with housing facilities gradually.[157]

ix) Medical Education

As such, there had been no introduction of new policies in 1962. It was decided that seats would be allotted only on the basis of community. A training centre for para-medical workers was started. It was also stated by the minister that enhancing the stipend of the house surgeons from Rs. 97 to 100 was not permissible.[158]

In 1963, it was proposed to open a medical college and to increase the seats from 600 to 700 in the medical colleges. 400 nurses, 100 pharmacists and 125 auxiliare nurses were given training. A uniform policy was adopted in all the states in India under which admissions were to be made to the medical colleges.[159]

Besides the existing five medical colleges, two more medical colleges, one at Chingleput and another at Tirunelveli were proposed to be opened in 1964. In order to relieve the medical personnel from the teaching work non-clinical courses were started. The members were assured that corruption would be dealt with very firmly and necessary action will be taken.[160]

During 1965, the proposal for increasing the stipend for house surgeons was considered.[161]

EDUCATION

The Table (14) given below depicts the money allocated for education from 1962 to 1966.

TABLE - 14

Total money allocation for education from 1961 to 1966

S No.	Year	Total percentage of money allocation for education
1	1962	21.70
2	1963	22.57
3	1964	21.82
4	1965	21.64
5	1966	23.51

Source: Computed from the *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official reports 1962-1966.*

It is obvious from the table that there was not much variation in money allocation on education during this period. In 1963 it was increased by 0.87% and in 1966 by 1.87%.

The performance of the government on each issue in education is discussed in the following pages.

i) Primary Education

During 1962 compulsory education was introduced in a phased manner and 1/3 of the State was to be covered each year. During this year the quota of admitting 1/3

between the age group 6 and 8 had been covered and the target was exceeded by 1,50,000. Mid-day meal scheme was introduced in 27,217 schools (including Harijan Welfare Schools) and 13,08,650 students were fed. In this year totally 29,000 elementary schools were functioning in the State with 42,26,820 pupils. The minister for education announced that all the defects in the mid-day meal scheme could be rectified.[162]

In 1963 also the target of enrolling more students in the elementary schools under compulsory education scheme, exceeded the target by 30,000 pupils. The Mid-day meal scheme was on in 29,064 schools (including Harijan Welfare Schools) and 14,18,606 students were fed. 7,00,000 students were given uniform dress during the year. In fact 30,020 elementary schools functioned in the State with 47,44,901 students on the roll.[163]

During 1964 under the scheme of compulsory education, the target of enrolment was exceeded by 40,000 students. The mid-day meal scheme was in operation in 30,169 schools (including Harijan Welfare Schools) and 15,94,819 students were fed. 8 lakhs students were provided with uniform dress. During the year 30,397 elementary schools functioned in the State.[164]

In 1965, to achieve 100% enrolment of students in the schools and to provide a primary school within walking distance, elementary schools were opened in the villages having a population of 300 and above with the result that 30,554 schools functioned in the State and 48.38 lakhs of students enrolled. The responsibility of executing the mid-day Meal Scheme was entrusted to the Director. Then the Mid-day Meal Scheme was in operation in 30,309 schools (including the Harijan Welfare Schools) and 17.35 lakhs of

students were fed. 1.73 lakhs of students were *provided* with uniform dress.[165]

There were 30,831 primary schools functioning in the state and 49.91 lakhs of students studied in those institutions in 1966. The mid day meal scheme was in operation in 30,707 schools and 18 83 lakhs of students were fed and nearly 10 lakhs of pupils in the schools received uniform dress.[166] From 1962 the mid-day meal scheme was extended. *The number of primary schools were also increased every* year.

(ii) Secondary Education

During 1962, 7 Government High Schools were opened. Of the seven schools, six schools, were for girls and one for boys. 6 middle schools were upgraded into high schools. In addition to that 141 new district board schools, 5 municipal schools and 49 private management schools were opened. 2 district board middle schools and 9 aided schools were upgraded as high schools. Totally 219 new high schools were started. In 1962, 1,769 secondary schools functioned in the state and 9,07,922 students studied in the secondary schools (6,39,748 boys and 2,68,174 girls).[167]

The year 1963 witnessed the opening of 187 high schools in the state, mostly in rural areas which included 39 girls high schools and altogether 9,89,590 students studied in the schools (6,92,388 boys and 2,97,202 girls). The mid-day meal *scheme was extended to 597* secondary schools and 16,081 students were fed during this year.[168]

From 1964 onwards tuition fee was abolished for secondary school education. 180 new high schools (144 under local bodies, 9 under government, 27 under private

management) were opened. For Kanyakumari district six schools were opened in this year. 10,98,996 students (7,61,742 boys and 337254 girls) studied in all the institutions. The mid-day meal scheme was in operation in 512 schools and 15452 students were fed.[169]

In 1965, 131 new high schools were started and 215 new sections were permitted to be opened. There were 138 teacher training schools in the State. The mid-day meal scheme was in operation in 464 secondary schools while the number of pupils fed in these schools was 15,182.[170]

In the year 1966, 135 new high schools and 116 adult literacy schools were also opened. The mid-day meal scheme was in operation in 398 secondary schools and 12,774 students were fed.[171] The mid-day meal scheme was not extended as in the primary schools. It was decreased from year to year.

(iii) Collegiate Education

In 1962 there were two Universities, Madras and Annamalai University and 63 Arts and Science colleges (45 for men and 18 for women) and 18 training colleges (12 for men and 6 for women) in Madras State. In all the colleges 46,936 students (35,851 boys and 11,085 girls) studied. 17 professional colleges and 23 polytechnics continued to function during this year. A new training college for women at Tuticorin was opened in this year. A new polytechnic at Nazarath was also started by a private management during this year.[172]

During 1963, 5 new colleges with only the pre-university course were opened. Totally 68 colleges (48 for men and 20 for women) continued to function. The strength in the various courses in the Universities was 55,677 (42,370 men and 13,307 women). A new training college was opened

in Kanyakumari district in this year. The number of students in the training colleges was 1808 (1,216 men and 592 women). The strength of professional colleges has been increased from 875 to 1,260. 4 new polytechnics were started at Thoovakudi (Tiruchirapalli), Adayar (Madras), Madurai and Rajapalayam (Ramnad). Nazareth polytechnic was taken over by the Government.[173]

11 new Colleges were opened (9 for men and 2 for women) in the year 1964. Of the 11 colleges, four were Government Colleges located at Cuddalore, Gudiyatham Krishnagiri and Broadway (Madras) and 7 private managemen, colleges located at Marthandam, Arumbakkam, Dindigul, Neyyoor, Perianayakanpalayam, Poompuhar and Courtalam. The student strength in the various colleges and Universities was 0,982 (54,336 men and 16,646 women). One Engineering college (Regional Engineering college) was started in Tiruchirapalli. 5 new polytechnics were opened. In principle it was proposed to establish a new University in Madurai.[174]

To establish a University in Madurai, the Madurai University Act was passed in 1965. The Government of Madras opened seven new colleges (6 for men and 1 for women) at Ponneri, Dharmapuri, Tiruchirapalli, Ramanathapuram, Ariyalur, Vellore and Madurai. Seven more colleges were started by private managements at Melvisharam, Nagamalai, Tiruppathur, Thiruchendur, Nagercoil, Thiruvallur and Agastheeswaram (among the seven college of two were for women). There were in all 93 colleges for general education including 25 colleges for women in the State. The total strength of the students benefited by these institutions in this year was 79,373 (60,444 men and 18,929 women). Evening colleges were started in the Government colleges. At Salem, a new engineering college was opened. Totally 35 polytechnics

functioned in the State with an annual intake of 4,792 students during 1965.[175]

Six new colleges were started by the Government of Madras in 1966 at Karur, Vridhachalam, Thiruvannamalai, Tiruppur, Thanjavur and Dindigul. Of the six colleges, four colleges were for men and two colleges were for women. Six private management colleges were started at Tambaram, Madurai, Tuticorin, Tiruchirapalli, Kovilpatti and Coonoor. Totally 12 new colleges were started and with that the total number of colleges rose from 93 to 105. No new polytechnics were started in 1966.[176] More and more new were coming up. Likewise a few new engineering colleges and polytechnics had come up during the period from 1962 to 1966.

(iv) **Facilities in Educational Institution**

Regarding the facilities in educational institutions, the minister for education gave a categorical answer that Government would consider the increase of buildings, laboratories and library facilities step by step.[177] There were no significant improvements in the facilities. The Government concentrated only on enrolling the students in the schools. Much attention was paid to the school buildings, and not to the buildings for colleges. In the case of the colleges, there were certain minimum requirements to be satisfied before starting them. But in the case of the schools, they did not consider buildings and other facilities as important as admitting more students. Further, schools were mostly under the control of panchayat unions and district boards and only a few schools were under the control of the Government. So it was the responsibility of the local bodies to provide such facilities. But the Government gave directives to them to construct buildings. This however depended upon the resources available in the local bodies.

Regarding the facilities (library and laboratory) a crash programme of providing those facilities got underway. During 1964-65 and 1965-66, 100 school libraries were improved.[178] Thus, the question was not whether the members demanded more facilities or not, but whether the government realized the need for them or not.

v) Pattern of Education

During 1962 in a few schools, education was imparted through english medium. But it was impossible to introduce english medium in all schools. The Government was not in favour of frequent changes in education. To improve the standard, qualified teachers were appointed and conferences were convened.[179]

To keep up the standard and quality, a school improvement conference was held in 1963 and more number of B.T. teachers were appointed as Headmasters in the schools and more number of qualified teachers were appointed in the schools. The Basic Training School syllabus was revised. A compulsory scheme of training was introduced for the sake of the able bodied college students in NCC. The minister for Education assured the house that all the defects in the Educational System would be rectified and necessary steps would be taken to maintained high standards in education.[180]

The existing system continued through 1964 but replies to questions on Standards were similar to the ones given in 1963. The pattern of School education was reoriented to old style. In this pattern school education was extended upto 11th standard.[181]

Regarding the standard of education, Though the government had given assurances that it would take steps to

keep up the standard, there had been no change in the educational policy in the state.[182]

(vi) Students' Problem

The gross annual income limit of Rs. 1200 prescribed for the purpose of grant of fee concessions to pupils had been increased to Rs. 1500 in 1962. It was stated that steps would be taken to consider the demands of the repre sentatives in this regard.[183]

There were no improvements in the facilities. The other branches contiuned to function. The National Scholarship scheme was announced in 1964. Merit scholarships and National loan scholarships were made available in a limited scale in 1963 and 1964.[184]

The same condition continued in 1965 also and in connection with the Anti-Hindi agitation cases were booked against the students but later the cases were withdrawn. There was no new direction and development.[185]

In 1966 National scholarships and National loan scholarships were increased.[183] There was no further improvement or change in the policy.

(vii) Teachers' Problem

In the year 1962, all elementary school teachers drawing a salary of less than Rs. 150 were sanctioned an increase in dearness allowance of Rs. 5 from July 1, 1962. The Government had sanctioned family pension scheme to the teachers. To meet the paucity of teachers in the schools, 66 additional sections were opened in training schools to train more teachers.[187]

The existing system contiuned to function in 1963 also. There had been no new direction and new policies conce-

rning the teachers in this year. The Minister for Education agreed to take necessary steps to solve the problems of Kanyakumari district teachers.[188]

The same condition continued in the educational system. There was no new policy or decision in connection with teachers from 1964 to 1966. Thus the government's performance on each issue during the period from 1962 to 1966 has been presented above. The government's programme & actions have discussed with reference to the demands of the representatives. The relationship between the representatives' demands (Input) and the corresponding activities of the government (output) are discussed in the fifth chapter.

Notes

1. Section III of the Second Chapter.
2. Discussion on Supplementary budget includes statement of excess expenditures and further demands for grants.
3. Almond and Powell, in their work "Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach", discussed the eight styles of articulation. Four styles are not suitable to Indian political conditions. So remaining four styles alone are taken for the purpose of analysis in this work.
4. After surveying the speeches of the members in the Legislative Assembly on Public health, this classification of specific issues is made.
5. In this study two types of calculations are worked out. First participation is calculated in proportion to the total participation of members on each issue. Secondly the participation is calculated in proportion to the party strength in the Legislative Assembly. Explanations are based on the both.
6. N. Mahalingam, *M.L.A.Deb.*, (1962), Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 183; G. E. Chinnadurai, *M.L.A.Deb.*, (1962), Vol. 2,

No. 4, p. 14; J. Madhagowder. *M.L.A.Deb.*, (1962), Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 407; M. P. Muthuvelappa Gounder, *M.L.A.Deb.*, (1962), Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 412; Sankaran, *Ibid.*, p. 417; N. Rasangam, *M.L.A.Deb.*, (1962), Vol. 1, No. 5, p 293, S. Arumugam, *M.L.A.Deb.*, (1962), Vol. 1, No. 6, p 398; V R. Nedunchelian, *M L.A.Deb.*, 1962, Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 438; Jegathambal Velayutham, *M.L A. Deb*, 1962, Vol. 2, No 4, p. 403; C. K. Chinnaraji, *Ibid.*, p. 432; S. Mani, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1962, Vol 2, No. 5, p 507; N. P. Senkottuvelu, *Ibid*, p. 519; N. Rasangam, *M L A.Deb.*, 1962, Vol. 2, No 7, p. 682; V. R. Nedunchelian, *Ibid.*, p 718; A. Gaghava Reddi, *M L.A.Deb.*, 1962, Vol 1, No 4, p. 191; C C. Naidu, *M L.A.Deb.*, Vol. 5, No. 4, p 420; G. E. Chinnadurai, *M.L.A Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 7, No. 4, p 31'; A. Angamuthu Naicker, *Ibid.*, p. 34 ; T. Kadambavana Sundaram, *M.L A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol 8, No. 5, p 466; R. Ponnappa Nadar, *Ibid.*, p. 473; S. Angamuthu Naicker, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 9, No. 2, p. 177; L Anandan, *Ibid.*, p. 203; R. Senkaliappan, *Ibid.*, p. 215; K. Narayanasamy, *Ibid.*, p. 425; A. R. Subbiah Mudaliar, *Ibid.*, p. 433; R. Subramanian, *Ibid.*, p. 459; V. Ellam Naidu, *Ibid.*, p. 463; A.P C. Veerababu, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 334; P. K. R. Lakshmikantham, *Ibid*, p. 358; T. Karcha Gowder, *M.L.A.Deb*, 1968, Vol 8, No. 5, p. 491; K. Palanisami, *M L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 39; K. Thiruvenkatam, *M L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 9, No. 2, p 183; C. Kulanthaiammal, *M L A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 10, No. 5, p 408; M. S. Selvarajan, *Ibid.*, p. 414; K. Narayanasamy, *Ibid.*, p. 425; T. Kadambavanasundaram *Ibid.*, p. 435; R. Thangavelu, *Ibid.*, p. 452; S. Ponnusamy Nadar, *M.L.A Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 7, No. 5, p. 461; S. Muthulingam, *M L A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol 7, No. 1, p. 178; C. K. Chinnaraji, *Ibid.*, p. 94; R. Narayanan, *M.L.A Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 182-183; V. R. Nedunchelian, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 7, No. 4, p. 374; K Govindan, *M.L A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 8, No. 4, p. 342; Jegathambal Velavutham, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 8, No. 6, p. 582; V. R. Nedunchelian, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 9, No. 3, p. 292, V. Krishnamoorthy, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 10, No. 5, p. 438; K A. Mathialagan, *Ibid.*, p. 460; V R. Nedunchelian, *Ibid.*, p. 476; S. Mani, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1963, Vol. 7, No. 5, p. 442; A. Swamidoss, *M.L.A.Deb*, 1963, Vol. 10, No. 5, p. 418; R. S. Veerappa Chettiar, *Ibid.*, p. 445,

S. Subramania Gounder, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 177; T. Kadambavanasundaram, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 3, p 297; K. P. Palanisamy, *M L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol 18, No. 4, p. 327; N. Ramachandra Reddi, *M.L.A Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 5, p. 449; A. S. Ponnammal, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 42, K. Narayanasamy Pillai, *Ibid.*, pp. 45-47; V. Ellam Naidu, *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48; M. S. Selvarajan, *Ibid.*, p. 53; M. S. Selvarajan, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 21, No. 6, p. 668; A. S. Ponnammal, *Ibid.*, p. 687; Era. Narayanan, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 17, No. 4, p. 346; N. Rasangam, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 1, p. 84, V. R. Periannan, *M L.A.Deb*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 183; M. Muthulingam, *M L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 3, p. 291; E Sambangi, *M.L.A..Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 5, p. 468; A. K. Balakrishnan, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol 21, No. 1, p. 50; Rama. Arangannal, *Ibid.*, pp. 62-66; M. R. Krishnamoorthy, *Ibid.*, p. 70; V. R. Nedunchelian, *Ibid.*, p. 85; A. Raghava Reddi, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 2, p. 126; A. Swamidoss, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol 18, No. 2, p. 128, C. Chiranjeevulu, *M.L A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 18, No. 5, p. 415; R. S. Veerappa Chettiar, *M.L A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 34; K. R. Kariamanickam Ambalam, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1964, Vol. 22, No. 6, p. 607; K. Narayanasamy Pillai, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1965, Vol. 26, No. 2 p. 175; V. Sankaran, *Ibid.*, p. 190; S. Sivasubramanian, *M.L.A.Deb*, Vol. 26, No. 4, p 387; A. Ramachandra Rayar, *M.L A.Deb.*, 1965, Vol. 26, No. 6, p. 557; N Soundarapandian, *Ibid*, p 558; K. Kadambavanasundaram, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1965, Vol. 27, No. 6, p. 460, A.S. Ponnammal, *Ibid.*, pp 460-61; M. Dhandayuthapani, *Ibid.* p. 465; A. Ramachandra Rayar, *Ibid.*, p. 467; J. Madhagowder, *Ibid.*, p. 479; T. N. Anandhanavaki, *Ibid.*, p. 482; V. Ellam Naidu, *Ibid.*, p. 490; Karu. Cheemaichamy, *Ibid.*, p. 459; KR. RM. Kariamanickam Ambalam, *M L.A.Deb.*, 1965, Vol. 31, No. 4, p. 387; A. Swamidoss, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1965, Vol 27, No. 6, p 459; G. Venkataraman, *M L.A Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 33, No. 3, p. 199; M. Kulanthaisamy Gounder, *Ibid.*, p. 253; N. Soundarapandian, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 33, No. 6, p. 503; G D Perumal Raja, *Ibid.*, p. 554; T. N. Anandhanayaki, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1956, Vol. 33, No. 7, p. 653; Sivaraman Ambalam, *Ibid.*, p. 658; B. Lakshminarasamma, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 34, No. 4, p. 355;

K. Narayanasami Pillai, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 34, No. 5, p. 441; C Kulanthaiammal, *M.L.A.Aeb.*, 1966, Vol. 34, No. 6, p 501; T. N. Anandhanayaki, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol.37, No. 3, p. 250; M.S.Selvarajan, *Ibid.*, p. 261; A. Appavu Thevar, *Ibid.*, p. 264; K. R. Sambantham, *Ibid.*, p. 270; T. Karchagowder, *Ibid.*, p. 277; R. Rajagopalasamy, *Ibid.* p. 283; R. S. Arumugam, *Ibid*, p. 288; J. Madha Gowder, *Ibid.*, p. 292; V. Ellam Naidu, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 38, No. 2, p. 163; V Sankaran, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol 38, No. 3, p. 254; V. Sankaran, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1966 Vol. 38, No. 4, p. 336; M. S. Selvarajan, *M.L.A Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 39, No. 6, p. 656; M. S. Selvarajan, *M.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 40, No. 5, p. 467; and A. Swamidoss, *M L.A Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 40, No. 5, p. 467; and A. Swamidoss, *M.L.A. Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 37, No. 3, p. 276.

7. K. N. Palanisamy Gounder, *M.L.A.Deb.*, (1962), Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 402.

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CHAPTER IV

ARTICULATION AND ALLOCATION DURING THE DMK MINISTRY 1967 - 70.

Chapter IV consists of three sections dealing with the Input (representations of the political parties in the Legislative Assembly on the two issues) and the output (response of the government). The first Section gives a picture about the general level of participation of members of political parties in the Legislative Assembly on the issues concerned. The Second Section gives an account of the articulation on the issues. The Third Section is with reference to the action of the Government in response to the representations of the members on the issues concerned.

Section I

GENERAL TREND OF PARTICIPATION (Input)

The year 1967 witnessed a change in the Indian politics and it was more pronounced in Tamil Nadu. The dominance of the Congress party came to an end and a new era began. The DMK, a new regional party, came to power. The DMK began to rule the state from 1967. An overall performance of the political parties on the issues of Public Health and Education until 1970 is assessed in the present section. As has been done for the earlier period, the strength of participation of legislators (numerical strength) is taken as a criterion of performance. Similarly participation at various

discussions in the legislative proceedings such as discussion on Governor's address and general discussion on budget are considered. Tables 15 and 16 represent them.

Discussion on Governor's Address

As shown in the tables, the representation of members in the discussion ranges between 2.2% and 4.5% on public health and 5.5% and 13.6% on education. Of the two issues education received greater atten·ion from the members than public health Comparison of representation of members in the first period (1962 to 1966) with the second period (1967 to 1970) reveals some interesting facts. Representation on both the issues has been very low as compared with the representation on those issues in the first period (1962 to 1966). The falling trend in participation is perhaps due to the diversion of attention of the members towards some other vital problems, given rise to by the complicated nature of the social and economic system.

General discussion on the budget

As observed in the tables the level of participation ranged between 5.5% and 15 5% on public health and 13.8% and 27.4% on education. As compared with the representation on public health and Education in the first period (1962 to 1 66), the representation on the same issues in the second period (1967 to 1970) is very low.

Discussion of voting on demands for grants

As in the case of discussions more number of members participated in discussions on public health issues in the second period On hublic health the representation in the first period ranged between 23 and 35 and in the second period it ranged between 21 and 26 and on education it

TABLE - 15

Total Representation in Various Discussions and Questions in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on Public Health Issues from 1967 to 1970

S. No.	Year	TMP on DGA	MR on PH	%	TMP on GDB	MR on PH	%	VOD on PH	TMP on DTAB	MR on PH	%	TMP on DSB	MR on PH	%	TMP on DFYP	MR on PH	%	TMP on DNCM	MR on PH	%	TQ	Q on PH	%	C.A.	A.M.
1	1967	88	4	4.5	124	10	8	24	0	0	0	36	6	16.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	3284	175	5 32	2	—
2	1968	90	2	2.2	89	5	5.6	20	16	0	0	39	5	12.8	—	—	--	40	0	0	4424	170	3.84	7	1
3	1969	45	1	2.2	77	12	15.5	26	20	0	0	36	2	5.5	12	1	8.3	—	—	—	3827	186	4.86	5	—
4	1970	67	3	4.4	108	6	5.5	21	10	0	0	31	0	0	—	—	—	12	0	0	4561	250	5.48	2	—

Source: Computed from the *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1967-1970*

TABLE – 16

Total Representation in Various Discussions and Questions in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on the Issues on Education from 1967 to 1970

S. No.	Year	TMP on DGA	MR on E	%	TMP on GDB	MR on E	%	VOD on E	TMP on DTAB	MR on E	%	TMP on DSB	MR on E	%	TMP on DFYP	MR on E	%	TMP on DNCM	MR on E	%	TQ	Q on E	%	CA	A.M.
1	1967	88	12	13.6	124	34	27.4	30	0	0	0	36	11	29.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	3284	401	12.21	—	2
2	1968	90	5	5.5	89	17	19.1	19	16	2	12.5	39	9	23.0	—	—	—	40	1	2.5	4424	406	9.25	6	3
3	1969	45	5	11.1	77	14	18.1	23	20	4	20.0	36	6	16.6	12	5	41.5	—	—	—	3827	301	7.87	5	0
4	1970	67	5	7.4	108	15	13.8	27	10	1	10	31	6	19.3	—	—	—	12	5	41.6	4561	484	10.39	3	4

Source: Computed from the *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports*, 1967–1970.

ranged between 19 and 27 in the first period and 19 and 30 in the second period. This increase in participation on matters relating to education may be due to the demand of the members for opening more number of colleges.

Discussion on Tamil Nadu Appropriation Bill

It is observed from Table 15 that absolutely none participated in the discussion on Appropriation Bill for public health issues. In the previous period. they had atleast represented certain view points in connection with public health, but in the period in question (1967 to 1970) nobody represented on this issue. On education. in comparison with the representation in the first period, the representation in the second period is very low. In the first period, the participation ranges from 11.1% to 33.3% but in the second period it becomes less ranging between 10% and 20%. Normally in this discussion members used to bring in the points left out in the earlier discussions. When the members had not voiced their views even during the regular discussions, one could not expect their participation on this occasion.

Discussion on supplementary budget

Normally the members had to speak again on the policy matters and money allocations during the discussion on supplementary budget. The representation on both the issues in the second period was very low.

Discussion on Five Year Plan

Apart from the regular discussions in 1969, a specific discussion was held on the Fourth Five Year Plan. The representation recorded on public health was 8.3% and it was 41.5% on education. This discussion is meant for evaluation,

for the appraisal of the plan programmes and for giving suggestions regarding the new programmes. But the members usually referred to the same demands as raised in other discussions.

Discussion on No-Confidence Motion

During this period (1967-1970), no-confidence motions were moved twice, i.e., in 1968 and 1970 and on which nobody represented on public health. Participation on education was 2.5% in 1968 and 41.6% in 1970. The members had not thought of the public health problems in the serious discussion. This does not mean that there was no problem of public health. They had neglected such an important problem, as a result of their obsession with other issues which in their view were more pressing and important than public health. In 1968 and 1970 the problem of education received much of their attention, but of course did not lead to any serious discussion. Instead of levelling charges against the government, here also the members were simply raising their demand for more facilities. Among the members participated in the discussion on no-confidence motion, about a half were from the ruling party defending the government.

Questions

Questions are another form of representation expected to create pressure on the government. As compared with the first period (1962-66), the questions raised during the second period recorded a low percentage. In the first period, it ranged from 4.17% to 9.75% and in the second period 3.84% to 5.48% on public health and on education it ranged from 7.37% to 9.36% in the first period and 7.87% to 12.21% in the second period. It is to be noted here that in all the debates in the second period, the participation is very low

as compared with the participation in the first period. The questions on education in the second period are more than those in the first period. It is, perhaps, due to the members shifting interest from discussion to questions. Instead of participating in discussions, members were interested in getting information through questions.

Calling Attentions and Adjournment Motions

Calling attentions and adjournment motions are the other two important forms through which pressure could be exerted on the authorities for the serious consideration of the issues. Regarding calling attentions on public health in the present period (1967-1970) the members moved more number of calling attention than in the previous period (1962-1966). Contrarily the members moved a minimum number of adjournment motions on public health and in the second period only one adjournment motion was given notice of. Members moved more number of adjournment motions with regard to educational problems than public health problems. Tables 15 and 16 prove the above statement. Generally, the adjournment motion is seriously viewed by the authorities. The members moved more adjournment motions on education. So it may be inferred that they gave more importance to education than to public health. A close observation of the above statemeni clearly shows that the members evinced a greater interest on educational problems than on public health problems. In the following pages on appraisal is made about the party-wise participation of members in the discussions on the two problems - Public Health and Education, - and they are tabulated overleaf.

LEGISLATORS PARTICIPATION ON THE ISSUES OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND EDUCATION 1967-70

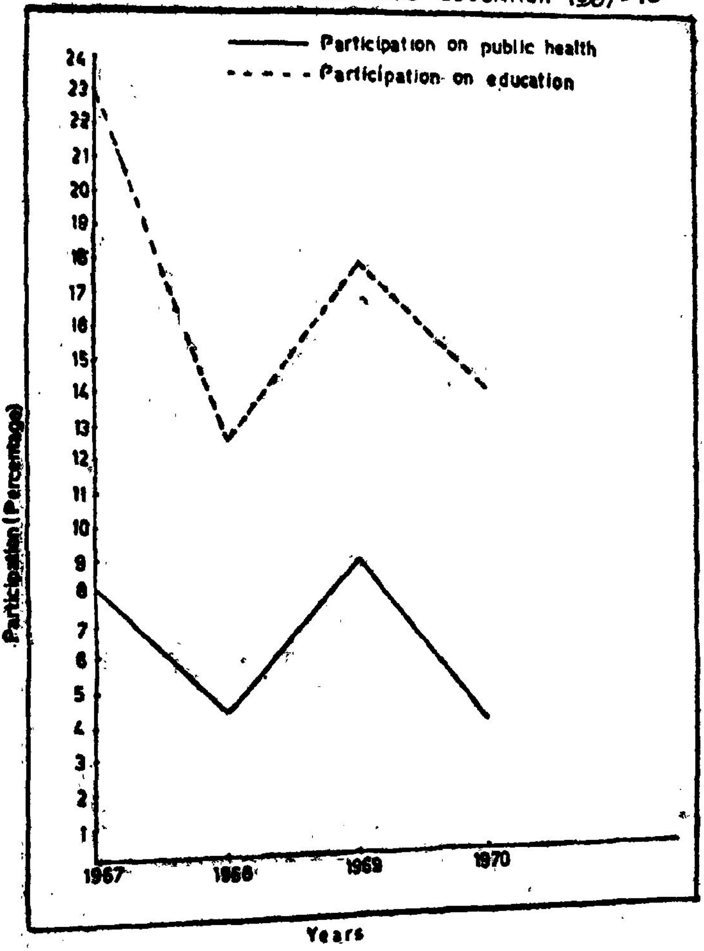

TABLE - 17

Representation of Political Parties in Various Discussions and Questions in The Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on Public Health Issues from (1967–1970)

S. No.	Year	Session	Total Parti.	Parti. PH	DMK	CONG.	SWA	CPM.	CPI	PSP	SSP	FB	ML	R	T	I
6	1967	D.G A.	88	4	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		G.D.B.	124	10	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		D.S.	36	6	2	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	3284	175	36 (50)	72 (35)	21 (0)	30	10	2	—	1	—	3	—	—
7	1968	D G A.	90	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
		G D B.	89	5	—	1	2	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
		D S.A.N.	95	5	3	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4424	170	65 (25)	60 (8.33)	20 (16.66)	15	3	2	2	—	1	2	—	—
8	1969	D.G A.	45	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		G D B.	77	12	1	5	2	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
		D.S.A.	68	3	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	3827	186	93 (6.25)	45 (40.75)	17 (12.5)	15	3	5	2	—	4	2	—	—
9	1970	D.G A.	67	3	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
		G.D B.	108	6	2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		D.S.A.N.	53	4	1	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4561	250	72 (23.07)	73 (30.76)	30 (23.07)	42	10	12	3	—	7	—	1	—

Source: Computed from the *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports* 1967–1970.

TABLE - 18

Representation of Political Parties in Various Discussions and Questions in The Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on Educational Issues from (1967–70)

No.	Year	Session	T. Parti.	Parti. Edn.	DMK	CONG.	SWA.	CPM.	CPI	PSP	SSP	FB	R	T	ML	I
1	1967	D.G.A.	88	12	5	5	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
		G.D B.	124	34	15	13	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	1	1	—
		D.S.	36	21	4	4	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	3[illegible]84	401	135 (42.10)	146 (38.59)	43 (3.[illegible])	53	4	3	15	—	1	—	1	—
2	1968	D.G.A.	90	5	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
		G D.B.	89	17	6	6	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
		D.S.A.N.	95	12	6	4	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
		Q.	4424	406	122 (38.[illegible]3)	162 (32.35)	45 (2.9)	49	1	5	12	—	4	2	4	—
3	1969	D.G A.	45	5	0	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		G.D B.	77	14	4	3	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—
		D.S.A.P.	68	15	1	7	3	2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	3827	301	101 (14.70)	108 (41.17)	30 (14.7)	33	5	8	2	—	—	2	12	—
4	1970	D.G A.	67	5	2	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		G D.B.	108	15	9	3	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		D S.A.N.	53	12	2	6	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
		Q.	4561	484	10[illegible] (40.62)	231 (34.37)	74 (6.25)	42	4	1	6	—	2	8	7	—

Source: Computed from the *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1967-1970.*

D M K

Though the members had a greater opportuniy to participate in the discussion, they had not availed themselves of it fully. Generally, the participation of the DMK in the discussions was poor. When the Congress party was in power, its members, irrespective of the number, participated in all the discussions. The DMK had not had representation even in some of the important discussions like public health. There had been no participation from this party in the 1968 discussion on Governor's address and the discussion on the budget, in the 1969 discussion on Governor's address and the supplementary budget, and in the 1970 discussion on Governor's address for public health. Of the total number of questions, the DMK asked more questions than the opposition - Congress party. Nine calling attention notices were given notice of on matters relating to public health from 1967 to 1970. The performance of the DMK, the ruling party, was not significant as compared with its performance when it was in the opposition. Totally 27. 86 % of participation was due to the DMK party. The ruling party itself paid little attention to public health. When the Congress was the ruling party, it did not allow the opposition party to outnumber the participation of the ruling party. But from 1967 to 1970, invariably the ruling party's participation had not outnumbered the opposition's participation. Though they had absolute majority in the Legislative Assembly, they did not have even 50 % of the representation on education. The DMK asked less number of questions on education than the Congress party. Two adjournment motions were moved by the ruling party from 1967 to 1970.

Congress party

Despite the fact that less number of hours was allotted to Congress party than the DMK due to its strength, the Congress party outnumbered the participation of the ruling party. When the Congress party was in power it never allowed the opposition to outnumber the ruling party's participation. The Congress party's participation record ranges between 8. 33 % and 43. 75 % on public health and 35. 88 % and 47. 33 % on education from 1967 to 1970. Normally the opposition parties will ask more number of questions to expose the government to the public. But the Congress party did not ask more number of questions on public health during this period. However, they raised more questions on educational issues. Five calling attentions and two adjournment motions were moved on educational issues. As compared with the participation of the ruling party, the Congress party's performance was high.

The other parties

In this group, Swatantra party, Communist party of India (Marxist), Communist party of India, Praja Socialist party, Samyuktha Socialist party, Forward bloc, Republican party, Tamilarasukkazhag m, Muslim League and Independent members are included. Though the Swatantra party got 20 seats in 1967 as against 6 seats in 1962, its participation was not in proportion to its number. The Swatantra party participated more in the discussions on public health than the other parties. The members in this group intermittently participated in the discussions. The Forward bloc and Independent members did not voice their opinion on public health and educational problems. The poor participation of these parties may be due to the fact that very little time was allotted to them by the business advisory committee

and even that was utilised for discussing pressing problems other than public health and education. On public health issues, one adjournment motion was moved by the Communist party of India and two calling attention notices, one each by the Communist party of India (Marxist) and Forward bloc were given. On educational issues, the Swatantra party moved three adjournment motions and seven calling attentions and the Communist party of India moved two adjournment mot ons and two calling attentions.

Generally, the participation was very weak and dull. Members of the ruling party and the main opposition party participated more in the discussions than others. Further the main opposition party's performance was more than that of the ruling party. Eventhough the ruling party had more time for discussion, they paid a little attention to public health and educational issues. The other parties also did not concentrate much on these issues. The other parties were keen on other important problems, because they could avail themselves of only a small proportion of time and within this short time they had to cover a number of issues. The foregoing paragraphs have dealt with the participation of members on public health and educational issues. This leads to a discussion of the content of their representation.

Section - II

ARTICULATION AND MODE OF ARTICULATION

PUBLIC HEALIH

Representation

Legislators' representation in the Legislative Assembly on the issues of public health is projected clearly in tables 19 and 20. The tables reveal the extent of participation by the legislators of various political parties on the issues

relating to public health in the discussions and questions. As in the first period from 1962 to 66 the ruling party had more opportunity for participation. However, on certain issues the Congress party, the main opposition party, participated even more than the ruling DMK party when their participation is calculated to the strength of the total participation. On other issues the ruling party participated more than the other parties. In proportion to their strength, the main opposition party outnumbered the participation of the ruling DMK party. During this period the DMK as the ruling party recorded its highest participation of 4. 19 % on problems of protected water supply and sanitation in 1967 and the lowest participation of 0. 34 % on the issues of outbreak of epidemics In 1968. The main opposition Congress party's highest participation 3. 24 % was recorded on protected water supply ond sanitation in the year 1969 and the lowest participation of 34 % on the issues of outbreak of epidemics in 1968. All other parties participated intermittently. As regards questions, the ruling party paid more attention to them than the opposition. More number of questions were put by the ruling party members. Other parties asked very few questions. Of the issues, protected water supply, primary health care, and hospital facilities received more attention from the members. On some of the issues the Congress party as well as the DMK did not participate in the discussions.

Articulation

Just as they did in the previous period, members from different political parties demanded water supply facilities. Some members demanded the facility in general for the entire state and a few members for their own constituency. While demanding water supply facilities, the DMK members

repeatedly made appeals to solve the problem but the Congress party members criticised the government saying that government did 'not take enough stepes to meet the problem.[1] For the same problem, six calling attentions were moved in the Legislative Assembly Of the calling attentions, three were moved by the DMK members.[2] One was moved by the Swatantra party,[3] another by the Communist party of India (Marxist)[4] and the third by the Forward bloc[5] on the scarcity of drinking water in different places in Tamil Nadu. So all the members were keen on demanding water supply facilities to their constituencies. But among them nobody indicated the existing policy of the government on water supply and further they had not justified on what ground their demands deserved preference. Excepting a few, none referred to the money allocation for water supply and facilities for rural areas in 1968. Members from the Congress party, the Swatantra party, the Muslim League and the Communist Party of India, indicated that the allotted amount of Rs. 27 crores was not enough to meet the demands and in 1967 they complained that allocations were made only to urban areas and rural areas[6] had been neglected

Regarding the sanitation problems, a small group of members from the Congress and DMK demanded drainage schemes in many cities and towns and a few other places.[7] Next to this issue, the failure to eradicade malaria cholera and to some extent small-pox still caued great concern to the authorities. Even-though there were reports of attacks, the members in the house had not taken up this problem and represented the needs of the people regarding primary health care. Members from the DMK, Congress party and Swatantra party from 1967 to 1970 pleaded for more primary health centres, maternity centres and rural dispensaries in their constituencies.' Further, they demanded basic

facilities like medicine and appointment of doctors at the centres.[8] During the period from 1967 to 1970, two calling attentions were moved on paucity of medicines and doctors in the primary health centres. Strangely enough the ruling party members (DMK) had given calling attention notices in 1968 and 1970[9].

The Congress party members in 1967 suggested to the government to start primary health centres in proportion to the population as against the criterion of one centre in each Panchayat Union.. Further, they rightly pointed out the fact that the Government had allotted Rs 6.75 lakhs in 1966-67, Rs.3 6. lakhs in 1968-69, and Rs.2.46 lakhs in 1969-70 and hence the allocation steadily decreased and the membes wanted an increased the money allocation.[10]

Malnutrition was another important aspect of Public health which deserved serious consideration. Although rarely, the members from the Congress party rightly observed that the health of the people would be affected by malnutrition which in turn would affect future generation and they insisted on the Government doing something in this sphere.[11]

Like malnutrition, adulteration is a menace to the community as it would wreck the health of the people. In 1967 & 1970 members from DMK. Congress and Swatantra parties called upon the authorities to take strong action to curb food adulteration [12] one way in which the health of the people could be protected is by maintaining the quality of medicine.

Regarding the supply of medicines and quality of the medicines, the Congress party members first appealed to the Government to supply medicines freely in the hospitals and to

TABLE – 19

Representation of Political Parties on the Issues of Public Health 1967 – 1970

S. No.	Year	Issues	Total participation	Participation on public health	Participation on the issue col. (3)	DMK	Congress	Swatantra	CPM	CPI	PSP	SSP	Forward bloc	ML	R	T	I
		WSS	272	44(16.18)	24(8.82)	11(4.19)	6(2.29)	1	1	—	2	—	—	1	1	—	1
		OE	,,	,,	0(.0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	9(3.31)	3(1.14)	1(0.38)	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
		FADC	,,	,,	5(1 84)	1(0.38)	0(0.0)	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	1967	LTB	,,	,,	3(1.10)	1(0.38)	0(0.0)	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	0(0. 0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	20(7.35)	9(3.43)	2(0 86)	3	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	1
		MPSM	,,	,,	8(2.94)	3(1.14)	0(0. 0)	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		ME	,,	,,	2(0.74)	1(0.38)	0(0. 0)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		WSS	294	32(10.88)	19(6 45)	5(1.70)	4(1.45)	—	1	1	2	3	—	1	—	—	2
		OE	,,	,,	1(0.34)	0(0. 0)	1(0.34)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	8(2.72)	4(1.36)	2 0.68)	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		FADC	,,	,,	4(1.36)	1(0.34)	1(0.34)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
2	1968	LTB	,,	,,	2(0.68)	0(0. 0)	0(0. 0)	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	3(1.02)	1(0.34)	—	=	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	13(4.42)	5(1.70)	1(0.34)	3	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		MPSM	,,	,,	12(4.08)	5(1.70)	3(1.02)	1	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—

		ME	,,	,,	6(2.04)	2(0 68)	2(0 68)	1	—	—	=	—	—	—	1	—	—
		WSS	216	42(19.44)	28(12 95)	8(3.73)	7(3:21)	5	2	2	2	1	—	1	—	—	—
		OE	,,	,,	0(0. 0)	—	—	=	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	10(4.63)	3(1.38)	3(1.38)	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
		FADC	,,	,,	10(4.63)	1(0.46)	5(2.31)	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	1969	LTB	,,	,,	1(0.46)	0(0. 0)	1(0.46)	=	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		IHM	,,	,,	2(0.93)	0(0. 0)	0(0. 0)	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	17(7.87)	6(2.77)	4(1.85)	3	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—
		MPSM	,,	,,	11(5 09)	3(1.38)	2(0.92)	2	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
		ME	,,	,,	6(2.78)	2(0 92)	1(0.46)	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		WSS	249	34(13.65)	14(5.62)	2(0.80)	5(1.60)	3	1	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
		OE	,,	,,	0(0. 0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PHC	,,	,,	5(2.01)	1(0.40)	2(0.80)	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		FADC	,,	,,	2(0.80)	0(0. 0)	1(0.40)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	1970	LTB	,,	,,	6(2.41)	1(0.40)	1(0.40)	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—
		IHM	,,	,,	1(0.40)	0(0. 0)	1(0 40)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		HF	,,	,,	17(6.83)	4(1 60)	5(2.00)	3	1	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	—
		MPSM	,,	,,	11(3.61)	3(1 20)	3(1.20)	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—
		ME	,,	,,	7(2 81)	2(0.80)	2(0.80)	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Computed from *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1967–1970.*

TABLE - 20

Questions on the issues of Public Health 1967-1970

S. No.	Years	Issues	Total Questions	Questions on Public health	Questions on the issues col (3)	DMK	Congress	Swatantra	CPM	CPI	PSP	SSP	FB	ML	R	T	I
		WSS	3284	175	76	9	26	13	20	6	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
		OE	,,	,,	7	—	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		PHC	,,	,,	3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		FADC	,,	,,	6	2	4	...	—	—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1	1967	LTB	,,	,,	6	2	3	—	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		IHM	,,	,,	3	...	2	...	1	...	...	—	...	...	...	...	...
		HF	,,	,,	42	12	18	3	6	1	1	—	...	...	1	—	—
		MPSM	,,	,,	15	2	5	3	1	2	...	...	1	...	1	...	...
		ME	,,	,,	17	9	4	2	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		WSS	4424	170	47	20	14	4	6	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		OE	,,	,,	1	...	1	—	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		PHC	,,	,,	7	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		FADC	,,	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	1968	LTB	,,	,,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		IHM	,,	,,	11	4	3	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		HF	,,	,,	51	25	16	6	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...

		MPSM	,,	,,	14	3	7	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
		ME	,,	,,	39	6	19	7	4	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
		WSS	3827	186	43	20	14	2	2	1	2	1	...	...	1	...	...
		OE	,,	,,	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		PHC	,,	,,	18	9	4	4	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
		FADC	,,	,,	16	13	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3	1969	LTB	,,	,,	21	8	5	3	2	...	2	...	...	1	...	...	...
		IHM	,,	,,	16	9	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	1	1	...	...
		HF	,,	,,	35	22	6	3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		MPSM	,,	,,	18	7	7	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
		ME	,,	,,	19	5	5	3	4	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
		WSS	4561	250	46	6	10	10	10	4	4	1	...	1	...	...	...
		OE	,,	,,	16	6	8	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		PHC	,,	,,	33	15	5	5	3	1	3	1	...	...	...	...	...
		FADC	,,	,,	4	2	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...
4	1970	LTB	,,	,,	15	4	4	2	4	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
		IHM	,,	,,	41	17	15	2	3	...	1	...	...	2	...	1	...
		HF	,,	,,	38	12	15	1	7	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...
		MPSM	,,	,,	27	6	9	5	4	1	1	...	...	...	1	...	...
		ME	,,	,,	29	4	7	3	10	2	1	1	...	1	...	...	...

Source: Computed from *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1967–1970.*

take care of the quality of the medicine.[13] Legislators from the DMK, the swatantra, the Communist party of India (Marxist) and the Communist party of India indicated that the government procured low priced drugs for use in the hospital and the quality was poor. Further, it was reported that the drugs were adulterated because of non-enforcement of the Drug Regulation Act.[14]

Only two members from the Congress party and Swatantra party in 1968 rightly raised a point that the Government had allotted Rs. 94 lakhs for to drug procurement in the previous year and this was reduced to Rs. 63 lakhs in the current year. Even with the 94 lakhs allocation the government was not able to provide free supply of medicines to the hospitals So they asked the authorities as to how the government was going to solve the problem of paucity of drugs with a meagre sum of 63 lakhs of rupees. Further, they stressed the point that the rural hospitals should be provided with enough medicines.[15]

Next to food adulteration and drug control, the problems of leprosy held the attention of the legislators Members from the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Swatantra party and the Congress party pointed out that only two lakhs out of six lakhs of lepers, were getting medical facilities. They argued that the government's decision of closing one Leper Service Unit at this juncture was not the proper thing to do and hence they requested the Government to keep the Leper Service unit going [16]

On tuberculosis, members from the DMK, the Congress, the Muslim League, the Tamilarasukkazhagam, the Swatantra and Communist party of India pleaded with the government to increase the facilities in the existing tuberculosis saniorium and to start a section in every hospital to treat the

tuberculosis patients.[17] Having understood the problems in the allopathic medical system, some of the members who participated in the discussions urged the authorities to give importance to the indigenous medicines and appealed to the govt requested to allocate more money to Sidha and Unani and also to introduce those methods in the rural areas.[18]

Further, members from the DMK, the Congress, the Swatantra, the Communist party of India, the Socialist party, and the communist party of India (Marxist) demanded more hospitals for their constituencies in proportion to the growing population and all wanted the hospitals to be provided with proper equipment. They also pleaded for more facili- in the rural areas. While making this plea they had uniformly specified only three facilities, i.e., X ray plant, bed and ambulance.[19] The members repeated the same demands without any additional information or explanation or any other relevant discussion. Only one member from the Congress party (in 1968) rightly emphasised that the allotment of Rs 22 lakhs was not sufficient for bed facilities in that year. Another anomaly pointed out was that the allocation of Rs. 68 lakhs for food in hospitals was much below the allotment Rs. ?0 lakhs made in the previous year. In view of the rise in the number of patients admitted to the hospitals, this reduced allotment was illogical.[20] On this issue during this period two calling attentions alone were moved by a DMK member. In 1967, a DMK member gave notice of calling attention in respect of the inadequate number of beds in the hospitals.[21]

It has been a general complaint that doctors were not willing to work in the government hospitals and especially in the rural areas due to lack to facilities. In this context members from the DMK, the Congress, the Swatantra and the Communist party of India (Marxist) asked the Govern-

ment to appoint more doctors in the hospitals and to provide them with more facilities [22] While asking for more facilities to the doctors the members from the DMK, the Swatantra, the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Samyuktha Socialist party, the Muslim League and the Tamilarasukkazhagam pointed out the lapses on the part of the doctors and demanded the abolition of private practice by the doctors.[23]

To tackle the problem of the surplus nurses, members from the Congress, the Swatantra, the Communist party of India the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Samyuktha Socialist party and Praja Socialist party suggested to the government that they be absorbed in the government hospitals [24] A few members the Congress party appealed to the authorities to appoint more compounders and health officers [25] While indicating the dearth and surplus of different categories of personnel legislators thought of medical education.

Congress and DMK members repeated by pleaded for medical colleges to be established in Tiruchirapalli, Salem and Chidambaram [26] The members had not substantiated why the medical colleges were to be started in the above mentioned places Again, the Congress and DMK members asked the Government to increase the number of seats and to reserve 50 % of the seats for women students (in the medical colleges)[27] Discussing admission of students to the medical colleges members from Swatantra party and the Communist party of India accused the government of irregularities in admissions to the medical colleges.[28] Surprisingly two DMK members in 1968 stated that instead of spending huge amounts on medical education, part of the money could be spent on rural medical facilities.[29] From the

representation of the legislators a table has been provided to describe the mode of articulation on the basis of the analytical scale.

Mode of Articulation

As revealed in Table, 21 the representation was further weakened by the ineffective mode of articulation and it resulted in low intensity of representation. The highest representation during the period 12. 96 % on the problems of water supply and sanitation was reduced to 6. 02 % and the lowest representation of 0. 74 % was further reduced to 0. 37 % due to weak mode of articulation as a result of non specification of the issue and not indicating the area. Ultimately it weakened the intensity.

Intensity

The intensity of representation is found to be 40. 3, 0, 5, 10, 4. 5, 5, 2, 8, 2, 23. 4, 10. 3, 8. 1, points. on the issues of public health. namely protected water supply and sanitation, outbreak of epidemics. primary health care, food adulteration and drug control, leprosy and tuberculosis, indigenous and homeopathy medical system, hospital facilities, medical personnel and skill-mix and medical education respectively. As compared with the previous period, this period witnessed a low intensity. The intensity of representation reached its highest level of 40. 3 points in this period. But even for a year 0-50 points indicate the low intensity and for the whole period of four years 40. 3 points reveal a very low intensity of representation.

Generally, political parties' strength of participation in the discussions on the issues of public health is very low. The participation of the legislators on this issue ranged

TABLE - 21

Mode of Articulation on the Issues of Public Health in the Legislative Assembly 1967-70.

S. No.	Issues	1967			1968			1969			1970		
		TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P
1	WSS	24 (8.82)	23 (8.46)	11 (4.04)	19 (6.46)	19 (6.46)	6 (2.04)	28 (12.96)	28 (12.96)	13 (6.02)	14 (5.62)	13 (5.22)	4 (1.61)
2	OE	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)	1 (0.34)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
3	PHC	9 (3.31)	9 (3.31)	4 (1.47)	8 (2.72)	8 (2.72)	0 (0)	10 (4.63)	8 (3.70)	2 (0.93)	5 (2.01)	3 (1.20)	1 (0.40)
4	FADC	5 (1.84)	5 (1.84)	1 (0.37)	4 (1.36)	4 (1.36)	0 (0)	10 (4.63)	9 (4.17)	3 (1.39)	2 (0.80)	2 (0.80)	0 (0)
5	LTB	3 (1.10)	3 (1.10)	0 (0)	2 (0.68)	2 (0.68)	0 (0)	1 (0.46)	1 (0.46)	0 (0)	6 (2.41)	6 (2.41)	0 (0)
6	IHM	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (1.02)	3 (1.02)	0 (0)	2 (0.93)	2 (0.93)	0 (0)	1 (0.40)	1 (0.40)	0 (0)

7	HF	20	16	8	13	13	1	17	12	5	17	16	6
		(7.35)	(5.88)	(2.94)	(4.42)	(4.42)	(0.34)	(7.87)	(5.56)	(2.31)	(6.83)	(6.43)	(2.41)
8	MPSM	8	8	0	12	12	2	11	11	2	9	7	4
		(2.94)	(2.94)	(0)	(4.08)	(4.08)	(0.68)	(5.09)	(5.09)	(0.93)	(3 61)	(2.81)	(1.61)
9	ME	2	2	1	6	6	4	6	6	2	7	7	7
		(0.74)	(0.74)	(0 37)	(2.04)	(2.04)	(1.36)	(2.78)	(2.78)	(0.93)	(2.81)	(2 81)	(2.81)
	Total	71	66	25	68	68	13	85	77	27	61	55	22
	Mean	(7.09)	(7.3)	(2.8)	(7.6)	(7.6)	(1.4)	(9.4)	(8.6)	(3)	(6.8)	(6.1)	(2.4)
	Percentage	2.9	2.7	1	2.6	2.6	0.5	4.4	3.9	1.4	2.7	2.4	0.9

Source: Computed from *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1967–1970.*

between 3.9% and 8.9% during the period of 4 years from 1967 to 1970. As regards participation of members on this issue in the period. it was found to be much less than that of the earlier period. Generally, excepting a few, most of the members spoke on the issues in a general way without any specification. Only a few members could go deep into the problem. And the participation of the other members was only peripheral in nature.

As in the first period, members in the Legislative Assembly, irrespective of the nature of the discussions, expressed the same demands repeatedly. There were a number of opportunities in the Assembly to speak on policy matters, financial matters, and other specific demands. But the members spoke without any awareness in all the discussions whether it is a discussion on Governor's address or Budget, or voting of demands for grants, or appropriation bill, demanding the same points time and again To express the demands on public health, members mostly chose the discussion on the budget. Sometimes the members did not even use the discussion on the Governor's address. Apart from the regular discussions, there are other forms which create more pressure on the government. To create pressure the members had to use these forms to articulate the demands. Forms like calling attention, adjournment motion, short notice question, half an hour discussion and questions were not frequently used by the members to articulate the demands on public health. In this period totally sixteen calling atentions and one adjounment motion were moved by the members of different political parties over the issues of public health. As compared with the previous period there was a sharp rise in the number of calling attentions. In the previous period seven calling attentions were moved and this period witnessed sixteen calling attentions. But in

the previous period two adjournment motions were move and in the present period only one adjounment motion was moved. As in the first period, twice no confidence motions were moved but none referred to the public health problems in the above said motion. It is a point to be noted that during both the periods public health problems were not referred to in the no confidence motions. Thus the political parites were not interested in using the effective forms of articulation frequently to highlight the importance of the problem in public health.

Most of the members spoke no the issues generalty. while the members were demanding facilitles for their constituencies, the members had to indicate or locate the correct area where the facilities were required. But the members excepting a few demanded facilities to their constituencies generally without mentioning the area. So this type of articulation reduce the strength of the mode of articulation. If the strength of the mode articulation was reduced, the intensity of the representation was also reduced, resulting in a weak mode of articulation.

During the discussions, members had to refer to the policy while demanding facilities or raising any other matter. If the members participated in the discussions and analysed the problems in the policy perspective, it enriched the discussions and strengthened the argument also. On public health issues members rarely touched the policy matters. It may be inferred that the political parties had no policy oriented approach on public health in the discussions in the Legislative Assembly.

Among the political parties in the Legislative Assembly the DMK being the ruling party got a major share in the time allotted for discussion, On the issues of public health

the DMK outnumbered the Congress party in participation. On a few issues the Congress outnumbered the DMK in participation. In proportion to the strength in the Legislative Assembly the Congress party participated more in all the issues in public health. Here it is obvious that, both during the first period and the second, the main opposition party participated in larger numbers in proportion to their strength in the Legislative Assembly. Normally the opposition party would ask more questions than the ruling party to expose the government to the public. But when DMK was the ruling party, it asked more questions on public health than the opposition Congress Party. As the ruling party the DMK gave notice of nine calling attentions over public health issues whereas the main opposition Congress gave only five calling attentions on the same issue. When the Congress was a ruling party it moved only one adjournment motion over the public health issue and no calling attention over the same issue. As the ruling party, the DMK's performance was better than that of the Congress Party.

The Congress Party was the main opposition party having fifty members in the Legislative Assembly, exactly as the DMK had in the first period. This party participated in discussions relating to almost all the issues. On two issues, namely, outbreak of epidemics and food adulteration and drug control it outstripped the ruling party in participation. It is to be noted here that in respect of these two issues, when the DMK was an opposition party, it outnumbered the ruling Congress Party in participation. On all the issues of public health, the participation of the Congress Party was greater than that the ruling DMK when the participation is assessed in proportion to their strength in the Legislative Assembly. To the form questions, the Congress party had not paid much attention. Normally the

opposition parties would concentrate more on question hour to expose the government. On the contrary the Congress asked less number of questions than the ruling party. The Congress party moved two adjournment motions and five calling attentions over the issues of public health.

The other parties, namely, the Swatantra party, the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Communist party of India, the Forward bloc, the Praja Socialist party, the Samyuktha Socialist party, the Muslim League and the Tamilarasukkazhagam participated in the discussions only intermittently. Among these parties, the Swatantra party, the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Communist party of India participated in discussions relating to the issues on public health. The Communist party of India moved an adjournment motion and a calling attention on the subject. There was no participation on this issue on the part of the Forward bloc and Independent members. But during the first period, the Independent members' contribution was substantial.

Under public health, protected water supply and Sanitation and hospital facilities received much attention from the legislators as in the first period. Matters like medical personnel and medical education came next in priority. Issues like outbreak of epidemics and food adulteration and drug control attracted the members of the main opposition parties during the two periods. In all, the members did not pay any great attention to these issues. Generally, the participation of members on public health issues was poor. When compared to the first period, the participation on this issue in this period is still poorer. This participation was reduced to a minimum due to the weak mode of articulation. The effective forms used by the members in articulating the demands were poor in content.

Also the effective forms were not employed frequently. Thus only a poor representation resulted on the issues of Public health.

EDUCATION

As in the previous period, education has been classified into different issues. On the basis of the classification discussion will be followed.

Representation

Though the DMK as the ruling party got a major share in the time allotted for discussion, it did not make the best use of it. On the issues of education the Congress party as the main opposition represented more than the ruling party as revealed in Table 22. On the issues of pattern of education, facilities in educational institutions, and students' problem the Congress outstripped the of the ruling DMK participation. When their participation is calculated in proportion to their strength in the Assembly, the Congress party had outstripped of the DMK participation on all the issues. Excepting the Forward Bloc all other parties participated intermittently. The DMK recorded its highest participation of 5.03 % on the issues of collegiate education in 1967 and the lowest participation of 0.35 % on Secondary education in the same year and the Congress party recorded its highest participation of 6.11 % on the issues of collegiate education in 1967 and the lowest participation of 0.34 % on primary education in 1968. In fact the Congress party asked more number of questions on the issues of education during this period than the ruling DMK party as revealed in Table 23. Membars of the Communist party of India (Marxist) and the Swatantra party asked a good number of questions where as members of the other parties asked very few questions on the issues of education.

Articulation

Generally members were interested in asking the government to start more schools in the villages. A few members from the Swatantra and the Communist party demanded more schools in the villages.[30] While making such a demand they did not spell out the type of schools they wanted (whether primary or secondary) and the places where they were to be located They made only a passing reference to this issue. Another important problem focussed by the members in the Legislative Assembly was the mid-day meal scheme. Since the mid-day meal scheme was already in force in the schools, it became a major subject of discussion in the Legislative Assembly. On this issue members from the DMK, the Congress, the Swatantra party, the Communist party of India (Marxist) and the Communist party of India participated. most of the participants in the discussions on this issue were critical of the way the scheme had been implemented.[31] These members however had not specified the irregularities and lapses. They simply made accusations against the government without substaniating them. No doubt econdary education required as much attention as primary edication. But the members from DMK, the Congress and the Swatantra party participated in the discussion and demanded starting of a large number of teacher training schools (both for men and women) and high schools.[32] Strangely enough over a period of four years they passed only tow demands.?

Likewise there was a general demand for the legislatiors that colleges should be started in their constituencies. Right from 1967 to 1970 members from different political parties, mostly from the DMK and the Congress party, pleaded for Colleges in *Dharapuram*, Salem, Tirunelveli, Pattukkottai

TABLE - 22

Representation of Political Parties on the Issues of Education 1967-1970.

S. No.	Year	Issues	Total Partici-pation	Partici-pation on Education	Participa-tion on the issues Col. (3)	DMK	Congress	Swa-tantra	CPM	CPI	PSP	SSP	FB	ML	R	T	I
		PE	278	87(31.29)	6(2.16)	2(0.71)	1(0.35)	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		SE	,,	,,	3(1.07)	1(0.35)	1(0.35)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		CE	,,	,,	42(15 15)	14(5 03)	17(6.11)	2	3	—	2	—	—	2	—	2	—
1	1967	IF	,,	,,	7(2.52)	1(0.35)	3(1.07)	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PAE	,,	,,	14(5.04)	3(1.07)	5(1.79)	—	1	—	1	2	—	1	—	1	—
		SP	,,	,,	2(0.72)	0(0.0)	1(0.35)	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		TP	,,	,,	16(5.76)	9(3.23)	2(0.71)	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PE	293	53(18.08)	6(2.05)	2(0.68)	1(0.34)	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		SE	,,	,,	0(0.0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		CE	,,	,,	9(3.07)	3(1.02)	3(1.02)	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	1968	IF	,,	,,	8(2.73)	2(0.68)	4(1 36)	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
		PAE	,,	,,	13(4.44)	2(0.68)	2(0.68)	2	1	2	2	—	—	—	1	1	—
		SP	,,	,,	5(1.71)	0(0.0)	5(1.70)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		TP	,,	,,	17(5.80)	7(2.38)	3(1.02)	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	1	1	—

3	1969	PE	213	52(24.41)	5(2.35)	1(0.46)	1(0.46)	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		SE	,,	,,	2(0.93)	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		CE	,,	,,	20(9.39)	6(2.81)	6(2.81)	2	3	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
		IF	,,	,,	6(2.82)	0(0.0)	3(1.40)	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
		PAE	,,	,,	9(4.23)	1(0.46)	5(2.34)	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		SP	,,	,,	8(3.76)	1(0.46)	7(3.28)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		TP	,,	,,	11(5.16)	3(1.40)	3(1.40)	1	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	1	—
4	1970	PE	255	59(23.13)	2(0.78)	1(0.39)	1(0.39)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		SE	,,	,,	0(0.0)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		CE	,,	,,	10(3.92)	5(1.96)	1(0.35)	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—
		IF	,,	,,	4(1.57)	1(0.39)	3(1.17)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PAE	,,	,,	25(5.10)	1(0.39)	4(1.56)	3	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—
		SP	,,	,,	5(1.96)	1(0.39)	2(0.78)	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		TP	,,	,,	28(10.98)	10(3.98)	10(3.90)	—	5	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—

Source: Computed from *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1967-1970.*

TABLE - 23

Questions on the Issues of Education 1967 - 1970

S. No.	Year	Issues	Total Questions	Questions on Education	Questions on the Issues	DMK	Congress	Swatantra	CPM	CPI	PSP	SSP	FB	ML	R.	T	I
		PE	3234	401	54	13	26	5	5	1	1	2	1	—	—	—	—
		SE	,,	,,	74	31	23	9	7	1	—	2	—	—	1	—	—
		CE	,,	,,	178	61	63	19	26	1	—	8	—	—	—	—	—
1	1967	IF	,,	,,	4	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PAE	,,	,,	32	8	11	4	5	—	1	3	—	—	—	—	—
		SP	,,	,,	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		TP	,,	,,	56	19	20	6	9	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PE	4424	409	43	16	13	8	3	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—
		SE	,,	,,	92	26	42	10	9	—	2	1	—	1	1	—	—
		CE	,,	,,	118	34	54	10	12	1	—	3	—	1	3	—	—
2	1968	IF	,,	,,	10	8	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
		PAE	,,	,,	57	20	17	5	10	—	—	4	—	1	—	—	—
		SP	,,	,,	22	2	13	3	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
		TP	,,	,,	64	16	22	9	13	—	2	1	—	—	—	1	—

		PE	382	301	36	15	11	5	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
		SE	,,	,,	105	43	38	5	11	2	1	1	—	3	—	1	—
		CE	,,	,,	71	17	28	12	7	1	—	—	—	5	—	1	—
3	1969	IF	,,	,,	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		PAE	,,	,,	13	4	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
		SP	,,	,,	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		TP	,,	,,	73	21	26	7	10	1	6	—	—	2	—	—	—
		PE	4561	474	36	10	20	1	2	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—
		SE	,,	,,	117	25	60	17	8	—	—	4	—	1	1	1	—
		CE	,,	,,	100	21	43	21	8	—	—	—	—	1	—	6	—
4	1970	IF	,,	,,	72	15	38	13	5	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
		PAE	,,	,,	12	3	7	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		SP	,,	,,	34	10	17	2	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
		TP	,,	,,	112	25	46	19	14	2	1	2	—	2	—	1	—

Source: Computed from *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1967 - 1970.*

Pollachi, Vellore, Thanjaver, Tiruvannamalai, Tiruchirapalli and Aranthangi.[33] while demanding colleges only two members from the DMK specifically indicated that they wanted law college and agricultural college.[34] Another group of members from the Congress, DMK and Muslim League asked the authorities to increase the seats in the colleges to solve the problem of non-availability of seats.[35] So members were keen on solving the proqlems of getting admission in the colleges by requesting the government to increase the number of colleges and the number of seats in the colleges. S. Ramachandran, a DMK member moved ao adjournment motion to press this demand for increasing the seats in the engineering colleges[36] and one calling attention notice was given by a Swatantra party member on the same subject.[37]

Another important area of concentration for the members from Congress party. DMK, Swatantra party, Communist party, of India (Marxist), Tamilarasukkazhagam and Muslim League was the policy of free-education to poor students upto pre-university course. several members participated on this issue. The members without analysing or reviewing the policy simply appreciated the government for the announcement of the new policy.[38] As pointed out earlier in the discussion on primary education,[39] members were interested only in appreciating the government for announcing a new policy. The members who participated in the discussion on collegiate education did not discuss in detail the innumerable problems that prevailed. Form the above discussions it is clear that the members spoke more about the colleges than the Universites. Only a few members from the DMK and the Congress demanded starting of Universities in Coimbatore and Tiruchirapalli.[40] Further, most members from the Communist party of India (Marxist),

Communist party of India and Swatantra party, Socialist party and Muslim League rightly drew the attention of the government to the fact that the colleges run by private management were collecting donations for admissions from the students and they requested the government to take steps to stop the illegal collection of donations.[41] Regarding the collection of donations in the colleges three calling attentions were moved by the Swatantra party members.[42] Increase in the number of educational institutions need numerous infrastructural facilities.

Discussing the basic facilities in the various types of educational institutions, members from the Congress, the DMK, the Swatantra Party, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the Communist Party of India, the Praja Socialist Party and the Tamilarasukkazhagam were keen that the government should construct more buildings for the schools. Though there were many problems in providing facilities, the members focused their attention only on the building facilities to the schools, continuously from 1967 to 1970.[43] But once again nobody specified the area. First, the members had to assess the needs in their area in terms of the existing policy of providing facilities to the educational institutions. On the basis of the assessment, they should have represented in the Assembly providing enough data. But nobody took that effort to project the needs of the schools in respect of facilities.

Yet another problem discussed in the Legislative Assembly was the laboratory and library facilities. These two facilities were deemed to be the heart of the educational institution. But a few members from the Congress and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) alone made their representation on this issue. They wanted the government to improve the library and laboratory facilities.[44] After

providing the required facilities to the educational institutions, it is the responsibility of the government to see whether the institutions are keeping up the standard.

Members from the DMK, the Congress, the Swatantra, the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Communist party of India, the Praja Socialist party, the Samyuktha Socialist party, the Republican party and the Tamilarasukkazhagam spoke in the Legislative Assembly in this period on the standard of education in the educational institutions. They stated that the standard of education had deteriorated very fast and the fall in standards should be arrested immediately. They also wanted suitable changes in the pattern of education. But none suggested alternatives.[45] One member each from the Congress and the Praja Socialist party suggested that technological education be imparted.[46]

Another subject the members discussed in the Assembly was the introduction of Tamil as medium of instruction in the colleges. The members from the DMK, the Congress, the Praja Socialist party and the Communist party of India (Marxist) insisted that the government should introduce Tamil as medium of instruction in the colleges [47] M.P Sivagnanam, the leader of Tamilarasukkazhagam, moved a private member resolution to support the move for introducing Tamil as a medium of instruction in the colleges.[48] In 1970, a Swatantra party member moved an amendment to the resolution of M.P. Sivagnam demanding the continuance of English as the medium of instruction in the colleges and[49] it is to be noted here that the Swatantra party member moved a resolution to adopt English as the medium of instruction.[50]

Yet another subject the Assembly took up for discussion was the nationalisation of text book publication.

Members from the Congress and Praja Socialist party expressed the view that publication of text-books should be nationalised.[51] One calling attention was moved jointly by H.V. Hande (Swatantra party), R. Karupiah (Congress party) and V.K. Kothandaraman (Communist party of India (M))[52] to avoid the delay in sending text-books to the schools and to rectify the errors in the text-books. Two issues were represented in the Legislative Assembly. To change the existing pattern of education and to introduce Tamil as medium of instruction in the colleges. Like the pattern and standard of education, students problem should also be given equal importance so that a healthy atmosphere could be created in the educational institutions. Among the problems student discipline was an important one which needed to be carefully looked into by the authorities. In this connection, members from the Congress party, the DMK, the Swatantra and the Communist party of India (Marxist) concentrated on the issue of student indiscipline in the educational institutions. They requested the authorities to take necessary action against the erring students.[53] With regard to student indiciplime members from the Congress party, the Swatantra party and the Communist party of India (Marxist) moved five adjourn ment motions and four calling attentions during the period to draw the attention of the Government to the student unrest in various colleges.[54] A. K. Subiah from the Communist party of india when talking about the student indiscipline in the educational institutions, suggested that the students be given representation in the administrative bodies to ventilate their grievances, so that the problems could be solved amicably.[55]

Regarding the hostel facilities and the award of scholarships to the backward students, a few members from the Congress party and one member from the DMK demanded hostel facilities in colleges like Ariyalur, Kumbakonam and

Madurai and increase in the number of scholarships for backward classes[56] Besides the student problems, the teachers had several grievances. The successful running of educational institution depends on the teachers and so, they need to be treated well Otherwise, they will not be able to concentrate on their work.

In this regard generally members from the DMK, the Congress, the Swatantra, the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Communist party of India, the Praja Socialist Party, the Republican party, the Muslim League and the Tamilarasukkazhagam requested the authorities to increase the salary of the school teachers, to fix the University Grants Commission pay scale to the college teachers, to provide housing facilities, and to ensure regular disbursement of salaries to the teachers in private schools and Panchayat Union schools.[57] Regarding the irregular payment to the teachers, three calling attention notices were given by the Congress party members in 1968. In the three calling attentions, the members stated that the payment was not made regularly to the Udonkudi Panchayat Union school teachers, Hindi teachers, and Polytechnic teachers[58] Again in the same year, a Swatantra party member gave another calling attention notice with regard to the non-payment of salaries to the teachers in Sirkali Polytechnic.[59] In 1969 a Congress member and a DMK member jointly gave a calling attention with reference to the non-payment of salary in the Tirunelveli District Panchayat Union Schools.[60] These members projected the grievances of their constituencies in the Legislative Assemby on various issues in connection with education for the perusal of the executives according to their own perceptions. From their representation, the mode of articulation table is formed.

Mode of Articulation

Table 24 shows the mode of articulation of the members on the issues of education during the period from 1967 to 1970. This period witnessed a poor representation on the issues, made poorer due to the weak mode of articulation. During the period the highest participation 15.11% was reduced to 3.24% on the issue of collegiate education and the lowest participation 0.72% on the issue of the students was reduced to 0%. Thus a weak mode of articulation was found in their representation during that period.

Intensity

Poor representation of participation of members in the discussions, poor performance in asking questions, a weak mode of articulation and ineffective forms of representation resulted in poor intensity of representation on the issues of education. The issues, namely, primary education, secondary education, collegiate education, facilities in the educational institutions, pattern of education, problems of students and teachers recorded the intensity of representation 6, 5, 36.3, 5.8, 20.8, 23.1 and 28.4 scores respectively. The maximum score is 36.3 for a term. For a year 0-50 points are considered as a very low level of intensity and 36.3 points for the term considered as an ineffective intensity of representation.

The participation of the members on the issues of education was as low as on public health. In this period, the participation of members on education reveals the range between 12. 4 % and 22 9%. In comparison with the participation of members on public health in this regard (participation ranged between 3. 9 % and 6. 9 %) the participation of members on education was more. At the same time as compared with participation of members on the issues of

TABLE - 24

Mode of Articulation on the Issues of Education in the Legislative Assembly 1967-1970

S. No.	Issues	1967			1968			1969			1970		
		TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P
1	PE	6	5	1	6	5	0	5	5	0	2	2	0
		(2.16)	(1.80)	(0.36)	(2.05)	(1.71)	(0)	(2.35)	(2.35)	(0)	(0.78)	(0.78)	(0)
2	SE	3	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
		(1.07)	(1.07)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0.93)	(0.93)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)
3	CE	42	36	9	9	9	3	20	20	7	10	10	4
		(15.11)	(12.95)	(3.24)	(3.07)	(3.07)	(1.02)	(9.39)	(9.39)	(3.29)	(3.92)	(3.92)	(1.57
4	IF	7	7	0	8	8	0	6	6	0	4	4	0
		(2.52)	(2.52)	(0)	(2.73)	(2,73)	(0)	(2.82)	(2.82)	(0)	(1.57)	(1.57)	(0)
5	PAE	14	14	0	13	13	0	9	9	0	13	13	0
		(5.04)	(5.04)	(0)	(4,44)	(4,44)	(0)	(4.23)	(4.23)	(0)	(5.10)	(5.10)	(0)

6	SP	2 (0.72)	2 (0.72)	0 (0)	5 (1.71)	5 (1.71)	0 (0)	8 (3.76)	8 (3.76)	1 (0.41)	5 (1.96)	5 (1.96)	1 (0.39)
7	TP	16 (5.76)	16 (5.76)	0 (0)	17 (5.80)	17 (5 80)	0 (0)	11 (5.16)	11 (5.16)	0 (0)	28 (10.98)	28 (10.98)	4 (1.57)
	Total	90	82	10	58	57	03	61	61	13	62	62	09
	Mean	12.9	11.7	1.4	8.3	8.1	0.4	8.7	8.7	1.9	8.9	8.9	1.3
	Percentage	4.6	4.2	0.5	2.8	2.7	0.1	4.1	4.1	0.9	3.5	3.5	0.5

Source: Computed from *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1962-1966*

education in the first period, the participation of members on the same issue in this period was found to be high. Generally the participation of members on the issues of education was not sound. Eventhough more number of members participated in discussions on the educational problems, the members had repeated the same demands but on the issues of public health the members posed new problems to some extent. In the earlier period, on the issues of education, members focussed greater attention as well as they brought more problems to the Legislative Assembly. But in this period on the same issues, members had continued to raise certain demands, ignoring many other demands. So more problems were discussed only during the first period. During the second period members concentrated on one or two points and repeated the same demands. Like public health more than 50 % of members who participated in the disscussions had not specified the area. Most of the issues discussed in the Legislative Assembly were general in nature. Excepting a few, members had not sharply foccused their attention on the issues of eduction.

On this issue, unlike public health, more number of adjournment motions were moved. But less number of calling attentions were moved over the issues of education than the issues of public health. While comparing the participation of members on this issue during this period with that of their participation on the same issue in the earlier period, it is seen that in this period more number of calling attentions and less number of adjournment motions were moved. Totally the participation of the members through these two forms on this issue over a period of four years was minimum Mostly calling attentions and adjournment motions were moved on the problems of the students and irregular payment of salary to the teachers. No confidence motion was

another effective form to articulate the demands and to exert pressure on the government. During this period twice, in 1968 and 1970, on confidence motions were moved. Totally one member in 1968 and five members in 1970 participated in the discussions. Normally while moving a no confidence motion, the members used to level chargs against the government for not taking steps to improve the condition or any other lapses, But on this issue the members did not level charges against the government. Instead they asked the government to take steps to meet certain demands. So these types of articulation reduced the strength of representation. In the same period, on public health issues, no such reference was made in the no-confidence motion.

During the discussions, excepting a few, most of the members discussed the problems without any policy perspective. There was no indepth policy analysis in the discussions on educational issues. A few members from the DMK, the Congress, the Swatantra and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Communist Party of India had referred to the policy on education here and there.

Among the political parties the DMK got a greater share enjoyed more of time in the discussions than the other parties. On most of the issues on education except the pattern of educa tion, the students' problems and the institutional facilities the DMK outnumbered of the Congress party participation But in proportion to its strength, the DMK participated less in the discussions than the main opposition Congress party in the discussions relating to various issues. As regards questions the DMK asked less number of questions than the opposition Congress Party. Further the DMK was not interested in using more calling attentions and adjournment motions over this issue. Only two adjournment motions were moved

during this period, 1962–1966. When the Congress was the ruling party, the DMK as the opposition party moved seven adjournment motions and three calling attentions over this issue. As the DMK was then the ruling party, it did not want to exert pressure on the government as the Congress did during its rule.

The Congress, the main opposition party next to the ruling party, got more number of hours. But the Congress outstripped the participation of the ruling party on three issues pattern of education, the students' problems and the institutional facilities in education. In proportion to its strength in all the issues the Congress outstripped the ruling DMK participation. The Congress party asked more number of questions than the ruling party. It moved two adjournment motions and five calling attentions over educational matters. When the Congress was the ruling party it moved only one calling attention and one adjournment motion on the same issue.

The other parties, the Swatantra party, the Communist partyof India, the Communist party of India (Marxist), the Praja Socialist party, the Samyuktha Socialist party, the Republication party, the Muslim League and Tamilarasukkazhagam intermittently participated in the discussions on the issues of education. Among these parties, the Swatantra party and the Communist party of India paid much attention to this issue in the discussions. The Swatantra Party moved three adjournment motions and seven calling attentions on the educational issues. Likewise the Communist party of India moved two adjournment motions and two calling attentions. The other parties rarely participated in the discussions. The Forward Bloc and Independent members did not participate in the discussions on this issue.

Among the issues relating to education, Primary education, collegiate education, Institutional facilities, pattern of education and teachers' problems attracted the attention of the legislators in a big way. Their participation was confined only to a few problems of education. Thus the participation of the members on educational issues was low. Even this small percentage of participation was further reduced due to the members' non-specification of the issues and the areas during the discussions. Further, members had not used more number of effective forms like calling attentions' adjournment motions, and censure motions to articulate the demands of the people in this regard. So generally the intensity of the representation on this issue was low.

Section - III

AUTHORITATIVE ALLOCATION OF VALUES

In this section, policies, decisions, money allocations, and administrative work carried out corresponding to the representations of the legislators are presented. On the two issues, many decisions, policies were passed but all of them were not included here, because of the fact that representations were not made on those policies and decisions. The activities carried out in the government based upon the representations of the legislators in connection with various policies are brought out here.

PUBLIC HEALTH

First, money allocation for pulic health programme in the annual budget from 1967 to 1970 is presented here. The table given below shows the money allocation for public health.

TABLE 25

Total Money Allocation For Pulbic Health (1967-1970)

S.No.	year	Total percentage of money allocation for public health
1	1967	7.70
2	1968	7.57
3	1969	7.83
4	1970	8.26

Source: Computed from the *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports, 1967-1970.*

The Performance of the government on each specific issue relating to public health is described here.

(i) Protected Water supply and Sanitation:

During 1967 totally Rs.80.35 lakhs for water supply schemes and Rs.5.45 lakhs for drainage schemes were allotted. Twentyone water supply schemes and three drainage schemes were under execution. Administrative sanction was accorded to five water supply schemes. During this year twenty one water supply schemes and eight drainage schemes were under investigation, and thirty five water supply schemes and one drainage scheme were being designed.[61]

The total amount allotted for water supply and drainage schemes was Rs. 183. 17 lakhs during the period 1968-69. Eighty three water supply schemes and fourteen drainage schemes were under various stages of execution during this period. Fortynine water supply schemes and sixteen

drainage schemes were under investigation. Designs and estimates were in progress for thirty eight water supply schemes and five drainage schemes. Fifteen water supply schemes and one drainage scheme were sanctioned.[62] Further, the Minister gave the assurance that the water supply problem would be solved gradually.[63]

In 1969-70 the total expenditure incurred on water supply and drainage schemes was Rs. 186.83 lakhs. Investigation was in progress for sixty two water supply schemes and fifteen drainage projects. Estimation was in progress for thirty water supply schemes and five drainage schemes. The government accorded sanction for twenty nine water supply projects.[64]

During 1970-71, the Government sanctioned with the loan assistance from Life Insurance Corporation of India, Rs. 1920.27 lakhs for fifty new water supply schemes and four drainage projects. Investigation was in progress for fifty seven water supply projects and thirteen drainage projects. Estimation was in progress for thirty six water supply schemes and two drainage projects and the Government accorded sanction to twenty four new water supply projects.[65]

ii) Outbreak of Epidemics

In 1967, though effective steps were taken to eradicate cholera, there were 3532 attacks and 649 deaths due to cholera. There were 282 attacks and (5 deaths due to small-pox. National eradication programme was under execution.[66]

During 1968-69, 8154 attacks and 752 deaths were reported due to cholera and 143 attacks and 26 deaths due

to small-pox. Intensive and effective steps were taken to eradicate the epidemics.[67]

During 1969-70, 4227 cases of attacks and 605 deaths due to cholera were reported and one case of attack and death was reported due to small-pox in the state. Effective steps were taken to eradicate the epidemies in 1969-70.[68]

During 1970-71, 1011 cases of attacks and 203 cases of death due to cholera and five cases of small-pox attacks were reported. Steps were continually taken to eradicate the outbreak of epidemics.[69]

iii) Primary Health Care

In 1967, 126 new maternity and child welfare centres and 35 new primary health centres were started. 13,488 schools children were given medical check up and 1,415 student were taken to the hospital for specialised treatment. A nutrition survey was conducted.[70]

59 primary health centres were opened during 1968-69. 90,677 children were completedly immunised and 3,49,452 inoculations were performed with triple vaccine.[71] The Minister assured the house that it was the policy of the Government that each block would get one primary health centre.

During 1969-70, 32 primary health centres were opened. The Government had sanctioned the construction of buildings for 28 primary health centres. All the primary health centres had been provided with all facilities and drugs.[73] The Minister assured the house that primary health centres would be enlarged.[74] 26 new primary health centres were opened. All the primary health centres were provided with

medicine and other facilities. The programme of immunization continued during 1970-71.[75]

(iv) Food Adulteration and Drug control

In 1967 food adulteration tests were continued. 16434 samples were taken of which 3657 were found adulterated. 4214 Sales licences and 191 manufacturing licences were issued to increase the supply of medicine.[76]

To increase the supply 2272 sales licences and 147 manufacturing licences were issued- Food adulteration tests continued during 1968-69.[77] The Minister for public health announced in the Legislative Assembly that the hospitals would be supplied costly medicines.[78]

Under the prevention of Food adulteration Act samples of food continued to be taken in 1969-70. There was no increse in money allocation for drugs.[79]

During 1970-71, samples of food under the prevention of Food adulteration Act continued to be taken by local bodies to check the practice of food adulteration.[80] The Minister for public health informed the Legislative Assembly that enough drugs were supplied to the Government hospitals.[81]

(v) Leprosy and Tuberculosis

No new T.B. Sanatorium was started and B.C.G. vaccination was given to the family members under 20 in 1967. But a few Leprosy control units were started and training was given to leprosy workers in leprosy prevention.[82]

From 1968-69 onwards every district of the state has been having an upgraded district tuberculosis centre. But there was no new programme for leprosy.[83]

The T.B. control programme was being taken up at the national level. In Tamil Nadu, the programme was effectively implemented. 294179 cases of tuberculosis had been diagnosed. 10578 cases had been given full course of treatment. 65675 cases had been given domiciliary treatment. The National Leprosy Control Programme had been in operation in Tamil Nadu. Two Government Leprosy control units and fortyfour S.E.T. units were sanctioned during 1969-70.[84]

During 1970-71 the Government sanctioned two leprosy control units in the state and upgraded one subsidiary unit in the leprosy control unit.[85]

vi) **Indigenous and Homeopathy Medical System**

During the year, 1967 a new policy was adopted to introduce a Sidha wing in each district headquarters hospital and Tiruchirapalli was chosen as a pilot measure.[86]

There was no improvement during 1968-69 and routine work was continued.

During 1969-70 opening of Sidha wings in the following Government headquarters hospitals were sanctioned; (1) Vellor. (2) Cuddalore, (3) Salem, (4) Coimbatore and (5) Ramanathapuram.[87] Further by the Minister for public health assured the House that steps would be taken to protect Homeopathy and Sidha.[88]

This period did not witness any new scheme and improvement. The same policy was continued in 1970-71.

vii) **Hospital Facilities**

For Coimbatore and Madurai Hospitals, building construction work was over and two operation theatres to

Madurai hospital were also completed in 1967. During this year sanction was accorded for the purchase of X-ray equipment and necessary additional staff for the following four hospitals: (1) Mudukulathur, (2) Tiruthuraipoondi, (3) Ponneri and (4) Arni. During this year an additional 43 beds were made available.[89]

During 1968-69 the following work was completed: (1) Coimbatore headquarters hospital, (2) A/C operation theatre at Vellore, (3) Post-operative ward at Salem, (4) Laboratory ward at Chingleput. The bed strength was totally 60 beds were increased by sixty during this year. X-ray plants.[90] at Arni and Thiruthuraipoondi were installed.[90]

Further, the Minister for public health assured the members that beds would be increased gradually at all hospitals.[91]

During 1969-70, 96 more beds were added to the following hospitals: (1) Aranthangi, (2)Sankeri, (3) Ayakkudi, (4 Kottur, (5) Vembadithalam, (6) Vennandur, (7) Koppanapatti. Six new schemes to construct district headquarters hospitals, five schemes to construct taluk headquarters hospitals. six schemes to construct non-taluk hospitals were sanctioned. X-ray blocks were ordered to be constructed in three taluk hospitals.[92] The Minister for public health assured the house that facilities would be provided at all the hospitals gradually.[93]

New medical institutions (Rural dispensaries) at Kilkuppam, Kuppammalpatti, Tiruloki Kallathu, Amarpoondi, Thenparanadu, Menathal, Maruthipatti, S. S. Kottai, Tirur, Thiruppirambiam, Athamanpalayam, Perumpakkam, Kallar, Sankarapuram and Ammapet were started. The Government hospital at Ottanchatram, the Government dispensary at Thirukkannapuram, new wards in Government hospital at

Thiruthuraipoondi, Tindivanam, Dharmapuri, Tiruchirapatti, Ponneri, Alwarthirunagar Nagapattinam, Erode, Pattukkottai, Palani, Thirumangalam, Palladam, Omalur, Kallakurichi, Sivakasi, Jayankondapuram, Valavanur, Jallipatti, Peravoorani, Watrap and Mannargudi were sanctioned in 1970-71. Further, sanction was accorded to construct the following buildings: X-ray blocks at Villupuram, Athur, Sivaganga and Thirumangalam and operation theatres at Namakkal and Cheyyar, a Clinical laboratory at Thirupathur and a mortuary block at Usilampatti.[94] The Minister for public health responded to the demands of the representatives by saying that buildings were to be constructed in the hospitals gradually.[95]

viii) Medical Personnel and Skill-mix

In 1967 paucity of doctors in the hospitals was due to the non-availability of doctors. Gradually sufficient number of doctors would be appointed at the hospitals and dispensaries.[96]

During 1968-69 the Minister told the Legislative Assembly that the Government could not compel the doctors to work in the rural areas, because it had some legal problems. Further the Minister assured the House that nurses' problems would be solved very soon.[97]

There was no response for 1969-70 and 1970-71 to the demands made in 1969-70 and 1970-71.

iv) Medical Education

There was no response to the demands of the representatives in 1967. There was no improvement in medical education in spite of the demands of the representatives during 1968-69. The Minister for public health reiterated

that there were no irregularities in the admissions to medical colleges.[98]

There was improvement in medical education in proportion to members' demands during 1969-70. The Minister for public health assured the House that Indigenous medical students would be given stipend and stated that the admission to medical colleges was fair.[99]

During 1970-71 there was improvement in Medical education in proportion to their demands. The Minister for public health stated that no corruption was involved in medical admission.[100]

EDUCATION

Table 26 shows the money allocated for education from 1967 to 1970.

TABLE - 26

Total money allocation for Education 1967-1970

S. No.	Year	Total percentage of money allocation for Education
1	1967	24.85
2	1968	22.73
3	1969	22.91
4	1970	22.50

Source : Computed from *Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports, 1967-1970.*

The performance of the government on each sub-issue in education is described below.

i) Primary Education

At the end of 1967, 31148 Primary and Upper Primary schools were functioning in the State. Each village having a population of three hundred was provided with a primary school. The mid-day meal scheme was functioning satisfactorily.[101]

In 1968-69, the same policies were continued During this period 31459 primary and middle schools were functioning in the State. Satisfactory progress was made in mid-day meal scheme.[102] The Minister for Education stated that the Government was not able to take over the private and municipal schools due to financial constraints.[103]

It was reported that the mid-day meal scheme was progressing satisfactorily.[104]

There was 31881 primary and middle schools functioning in Tamil Nadu during 1970-71. There was no further improvement in this regard.[105]

ii) Secondary Education

There were 138 teacher training schools in the State. Among them 67 were basic and seven non-basic. There were 2439 high schools in the state in 1967.[106]

During 1968-69 the administrative set up of Secondary education was reorganised and strengthened at the district levels. There were 2437 high schools functioning in the state.[107]

In 1969-70 total number of schools functioning in the state was 2488. The programme of starting schools in the rural areas was introduced.[108] There were 2635 secondary schools in Tamil Nadu during 1670-71. There was no further improvement.[109]

iii) Collegiate Education

In 1967 post-graduate study in Economics was started in Kumbakonam Government Arts College. Evening colleges were started in six places. The Government started two colleges one at Mayuram for women and the other at Cheyyar for men. Nine private colleges came into existence. One training college was started.[110] Further, the Minister assured the house that the Government was taking steps to increase the seats in the colleges.[111]

The number of Universities continued to be three during this period. During 1968-69, four new colleges were started by the Government, of which three were for men and one for women. Six colleges under private management were started.[112]

During 1969-70 no new University was started. The Government started four colleges for men and two colleges for women. Nine private colleges were started. Provisions were made to accommodate more students in the colleges.[113]

No new University was started in 1970-71. Government started three colleges for men and one for women. Sixteen aided colleges were started. New sections were opened to meet the rush in the colleges to ease the pressure on admissions.[114]

iv) Facilities in Educational Institutions

During the period 1967-69 there was no improvement in laboratory facilities and building facilities.

CARE started the mobile library as well as a laboratory scheme for high schools in 1969-70.[115]

During 1970-71 three CARE mobile laboratory and library service continued. No special attention was given to improve both and there was no change in the existing condition.[116] The Minister for Education stated in the assembly that buildings had not been constructed due to the financial problems.[117]

v) **Pattern of Education**

In 1967 the high school syllabus and engineering syllabus and curriculam pattern were revised and gradually tamil medium was introduced.[118] The Minister told asserted the Legislative Assembly that the standard was not falling.[119] He also stated that the Government was thinking about the publication of text-books.[120]

There was no change in the pattern of education or in the syllabus from school to college level in 1968-69. Parallel medium was started. School conferences were convened in order to improve the standard of education. The total number of engineering colleges under the control of the Directorate of technical education remained at seven. There was a shift towards technical education.[121]

During 1969-70 the revised pattern of school education was introduced. Further there was no improvement in the matters raised by the members.[122] The Minister for education assured the house that importance would be given to technical education.[123]

Tamil medium was introduced and expanded in 1970-71. A committee was set up to revise the syllabus of secondary education. School improvement conferences were held in order to improve the standard of education. There was no clear cut policy with regard to in medium of instruction in schools.[1.4] The Minister for Education stated that text-books

were published by the Government. To effect changes in the pattern of education, teachers and Vice-chancellors should take the initiative.[125]

vi) **Students' Problems**

There was no improvement on this issue and Special fee was continuously collected during 1967-69.[126]

During the period 19 9-70 Backward class scholarship was not increased. But other scholarships like National loan scholarship and National scholarship schemes were increased.[127] Regarding student - unrest steps were taken to maintain law and order in the educational institutions.[128]

vii) **Teachers' Problems**

There was no improvement in extending facilities to the teachers and no increase in the salary of the teachers in 1967. The Minister assured in the Legislative Assembly that the Government would implement UGC scales of pay to college teachers.[129]

The pension scheme for teachers in non-Government service was introduced during 1968-69. Incentive payment for those with higher qualifications was sanctioned. It was proposed to appoint more teachers to reduce the work load of teachers. There was however no increase in salary.[130]

During 1969-70 a teachers' home was started at Vellore with the willing co-operation and efforts of about 25,000 teachers. A committee was appointed to inquire into the details of the service conditions of the teaching staff in aided elementary schools. The Minister for Education frankly admitted that Goverment was not able to provide more facilities to the teachers due to financial constraints.[132]

In 1970-71, aided school teachers were provided facilities and service conditions on a par with the teachers in the Government and local body schools.[133] The Minister for Education assured the House that the Government would solve the teachers' problems very soon.[134]

The performance of the government on each issue is described in this section. An attempt is made in the next chapter to correlate representation and performance.

Notes:

1. M R. Kannan, *T.L.A Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 1, No. 9, p. 747; Rama. Arangannal, *T.L.A Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 204; M. S. Sivasamy, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 4, p. 427; M. Gopal, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 5p. 511; V.K Ramarasan, *T.L A Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 6, p. 612; N.R. Krishnan, *T.L.ADeb.*, 1967, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 156; N. Kasiraman, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 1. No. 9, p. 749; P. Mahadevan *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol, 2. No. 2. p. 217; N Soundarapandian. *T L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 2, No 4, p. 446; N. S. V Chithan, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967. Vol. 2. No 5, p. 502; M S. Mani, *T.L.A Deb.*, 1968. Vol. 10, No 4, p 397; S. Duraisamy, *Ibid*, p. 412, V. Munusamy, *Ibid.*, p.415; Dr. Habibullah Baig, *T L A.Deb.*, 1968, Vol, 8, No. 5p. 156; S. Balasubramaniam. *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968, Vol. 8, No. 7. p 746; K R. Nallasivam, *T.L A.Deb*, 1968, Vol 9, No. 5, p. 433; A.V.P. Asaithambi, *T.L A.Deb*, 1969, Vol. 17. No. 5, p. 462; K. Jayaraman. *T.L.A Deb.*, 1969, Vol. 19, No. 5. p. 546.
2. T. Thangappan *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968 Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 26-27; A. M. Raja, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968 Vol. 13, No. 5, pp. 597-598 and C. Duraisay, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968, Vol. 51 No. 7. p. 724.
3. H. V. Hande *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1969 Vol. 22, No. 4 p. 364.
4. M. Bhupathi, *T.L,A Deb.*, 1969 Vol. 18, No. 5, p.685.
5. Alaguthevar, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1970, Vol. 35, No. 5. pp. 437-38.

6. K.P.S. Mani, *T L.A.Deb.*, 1967. Vol. 2. No. 6, p. 632; K.M. Ramasamy Gounder. *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 160; C Govindarajan, *Ibid.*, p. 164; Dr. Habibullah Baig. *Ibid.*, p. 175; A. Subharaja, *Ibid.*, p. 186; A.R. Marimuthu, *Ibid.*, p. 190; K.N. Kumarasamy, *T.L A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol, 1, No. 7, p. 535; G. Poovaragan, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968. Vol. 9, No. 7, p. 587; N. Kasiraman, *T L.A Deb.*, 1968, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 443; P. G. Karuthiruman, *Ibid* p.445 and V. Swaminathan, *Ibid.*, p. 412.

7. S. J. Ramasamy *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 4. No. 2, p. 171; V. P. Palaniammal, *Ibid.*, p. 181; M. Gopal. *Ibid.*, p. 189; G Jayaraman. *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol 1, No. 7, p. 526; K. Kothandam, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 1, No. 5, p. 338; V. George *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 1. No. 7, p. 505; R. Soundararaja Mooppanar, *Ibib.*, p. 519; K.N. Ramachandran, *T.L.A Deb.*, 1968, Vol, 10, No. 4. p. 419.

8. V. K. Ramarasan *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1966, Vol. 2, No, p. 612; M. Kannappan, *T.L.A.Deb* 1967, Vol. 4. No. 2, p. 177; K. P. S. Mani *Ibid.*, p. 177; N. Varadharajan, *Ibid.*, p 191; K.P.S Mani. *Ibid*, p. 204; V K. Kothandaraman. *Ibid.*, p. 209; S. Duraisamy. *T.L A Deb*, 1968, Vol. 10, No. 4, p 410; Kolathur Kothandam, *Ibid.*, p. 429; A.L. Subramaniam, *bid.*, p. 440; M. Shanumugam, *T L.A Deb.*, 1968. Vol. 13, No 3p. 499; V. Swaminathan, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 414.

9. S. Duraisamy, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968, Vol. 15, No. 7, p. 725; and V.K. Kothandaraman, *T.L A.Deb.*, 1970, Vol. 30, No. 2, p. 145.

10. N. Soundarapandian, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1969 Vol. 19, No. 5, p. 575; M. Kandasamy, *Ibid.*, p. 591, and N. Kasiraman, *Ibid.*, p. 600.

11. V. George, *T,L A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 247; K. M C. Govindarajan, *T.L A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 16; and Dr. Habibullah Baig, *Ibid.*, p. 175.

12. N. Varadarajan, *T.L.A.Deb*, 1967, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 193; A. R. Marimuthu, *Ibid.*, p. 191; K. Bhojan. *Ibid.*, p. 196; K. S. Kothandaramaiah, *Ibid.*, p. 199; N. Kasiraman, *T.L A.Deb.*, 1970, Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 297 and K. S. Kothandaramaiah, *Ibid.*, p. 273.

13. M. C. Balan, *T.L A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 200; N. Kasiraman, *T.L A Deb.*, 1968, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 394; N. Kandasamy, *T.L A.Deb.*, 1969, Vol 19, No. 5, p 549; R. Karupaiah, *T L A.Deb* , 1969, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 178; N. Kasiraman, *T.L A.Deb* , 1969, Vol. 17, No. 2, p 165; T. Martin, *T.L A Deb.*, 1969, Vol. 17, No. 3, p. 264; K. Sahadeva Gounder, *T.L A Deb* , 1969, Vol. 19. No. 5, p. 580; N. Kasiraman, *T.L A Deb.*, 1969, Vol. 19, No. 5, p. 594.

14. Kolathur Kothandam. *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968, Vol 10, No. 4, p. 427; KR. RM Kariamanickam Ambalam. *T L A. Deb* , 1969, Vol. 19, No 5, p 546; N. Sankaraiah, *Ibid.*, p. 552; A C Narasimhan, *Ibid* , p. 567 and A. K. Subiah. *Ibid.*, p. 578.

15. A. A. Subbaraja, *T L.A Deb.*, 1968, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 441 and H. V. Hande, *Ibid.*, p. 435.

16. K. P. Janakiammal, *T.L A.Deb.*, 1969, Vol. 10, No. 4, p. 406; H. V. Hande, *Ibid* , p 434; K. Sahadeva Gounder, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1969, Vol. 19, No. 5, p. 581.

17. H. V. Hande, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 153; E. R Krishnan, *Ibid.*, p 158; Dr. Habibullah Baig, *Ibid.*, p. 177; M. William, *T.L.A.Deb.*. 1970, Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 258; S Murugaiyan. *Ibid* , p. 261; K.P. Janakiammal, *Ibid.*, p 264; K. N. Kumarasamy, *Ibid.*, p. 279; M M. Peer Muhamad, *Ibid.*, p. 280 and M. P. Sivagnanam, *Ibid.*, p. 284.

18. M. S. Mani, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1968, Vol. 10, No 4, p. 396; A. R. Marimuthu, *Ibid* , p. 423; S. Balasubramaniam, *Ibid* , p. 436; KR. RM. Kariamanickam Ambalam, *T L.A Deb* , 1968, Vol. 19, No. 5, p 547; K. R Nallasivam, *Ibid.*, p. 555 and V. Swaminathan, *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1970, Vol. 30, No. 3, p. 274.

19. M. Mehta, *T.L A Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 1, No. 8, p. 645; K. Govindarajulu. *T.L.A Deb.*, 1967. Vol. 1, No 9, p. 742; S J. Ramasamy, *T.L.A.Ded.*, 1967, Vol. 4, No. 2, p. 172; B. S. Manian, *Ibid.*, p 174; M. Kannappan, *Ibid* , p 180; V.P. Palaniammal, *Ibid.*, p. 181; M. Gopal, *Ibid.*, p. 188.

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CHAPTER V

EVALUATION OF PERFORMANCE

In this chapter a consolidated account of the representations (Input) of the legislators in the Legislative Assembly and the respones of the authorities (Output) on the two issues is given. In chapters three and four representations of the political parties in the Legislative Assembly on the issues have been analysed at three levels namely, numerical strength of participation in the discussions, forms of representation and mode of articulation. A section in the third and fourth chapters exclusively deals with the response of the authorities under the caption authoritative allocation of values in relation to the demands of the representatives.

In the present chapter hypothesis relating to the aspects of representations with response of the authorities is tested by using the theoretical model, 'System Analysis'.

Representation is analysed at three levels - strength of participation, mode of articulation and from of representation.

While looking at the strength of participation of the members in the Legislative Assembly on the two issues of the present study over the years, it is found that on Public health it ranges between 11.11. % and 18.9 % from 1962 to 1966 and 3.9.% and 8.9% from 1967 to 1970, and on education it ranges between 17 85% and 30.60% from 1962 to 1966 and 12.4 % to 22. 9% from 1967 to 1970.[1] Totally the particpation comes down from 18.9% to 3.9% on Public health and

from 36.60% to 12.4 % on education over the years from 1962 to 1970. It is clear that though those two issues were important the members had not evinced much interest the discussions on the above mentioned isssues. However this numerical strength of the representation alone cannot be taken as a valid point for discussion. So the content of their representations is also analysed to find out the nature and intensity of the representation. Content of the representation is analysed through mode of articulation.

Mode of articulation is analysed and evaluated at two levels. First level analysis verifies whether the members who participated in the discussions and other proceedings have specifically touched upon the issues. If the members fail to specify the issue clearly the mode of articulation is weakened.

The strength of representation was reduced from 18.9 % to 4.6 % (average) and from 3.9 % to 2.4 (average) on Public health, with respect to education, it was reduced from 36.60% to 3.9% (average) and from 12.4 % to 2.7 % (average) from 1962 to 1970 as shown in the Tables 27 and 28. The representations dwindled to such a low level because the members did not specify the issues clearly. Secondly, representation is analysed by testing whether the representatives have indicated the area. In the present study representation is found to have come down from 4.6% to 2.3% and from 2.4% to 0 9% on Public health, and on education from 3.9% to 0 8% and from 2 7% to 0.1%. This reduction in strength of representation is due to non-specification of the areas. But there are certain deviations in the representation. While analysing the policies, some members had not mentioned the area, because the policy had covered the entire area of Tamil Nadu. The representation has come down to a minimum. So the intensity of the 'Input' is very poor in content.

TABLE - 27

Mode of Articulation on Public Health Issues in the Legislative Assembly 1962-1970.

S. No.	Issues	Mode of Articulation																										
		1962			1963			1964			1965			1966			1967			1968			1969			1970		
		TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P
1.	Protected Water Supply and Sanitation	18	14	11	37	37	15	31	31	15	39	39	20	49	49	32	24	23	11	19	19	06	28	28	13	14	13	04
2.	Outbreak of Epidemics	01	00	00	05	05	01	09	09	02	03	03	02	—	—	—	—	—	—	01	01	00	—	—	—	—	—	—
3.	Primary Health Care	06	03	03	10	09	04	11	08	04	16	16	06	15	15	06	09	09	04	08	08	00	10	08	02	05	03	01
4.	Food Adulteration and Drug Control	09	06	05	13	13	02	08	08	01	05	05	01	14	12	02	05	05	01	04	04	01	10	09	03	02	02	00
5.	Leprosy & Tuberculosis	03	03	02	07	07	04	04	04	00	10	10	04	04	04	01	03	03	00	02	02	00	01	01	00	06	06	00

6. Indigenous and Homeopathy Medical System	03	02	02	05	05	01	08	08	00	02	02	00	04	04	00	—	—	—	03	03	00	02	02	00	01	01	00
7. Hospital Facilities	30	19	17	26	23	17	34	34	21	22	21	18	19	19	10	20	16	08	13	13	01	17	12	05	17	16	06
8. Medical Personnels	14	10	10	21	18	12	15	14	07	14	14	01	09	09	02	08	08	00	12	12	02	11	11	02	09	07	04
9. Medical Education	13	08	10	12	10	09	15	15	08	14	14	08	09	09	05	02	02	01	06	06	04	06	06	02	07	07	07
Total	97	65	60	136	127	65	135	131	58	125	124	60	123	121	58	71	66	25	68	68	13	85	77	27	61	55	22
Mean	10.8	7.2	6.7	15.1	14.1	7.2	15.0	14.6	6.4	13.9	13.8	6.7	13.7	13.4	6.4	7.9	7.3	2.8	7.6	7.6	1.4	9.4	8.6	3	6.8	6.1	2.4
Percentage	3.9	2.6	2.4	4.9	4 6	2.3	4.6	4.4	1.9	4.3	4.3	2.1	4.4	4.3	2.1	2.9	2.7	1	2.6	2.6	0.5	4.4	3.9	1.4	2.7	2.4	0.9

Source: Computed from the *Madras Legislative Assembly Debates, Official Reports 1962-1970.*

TABLE – 28

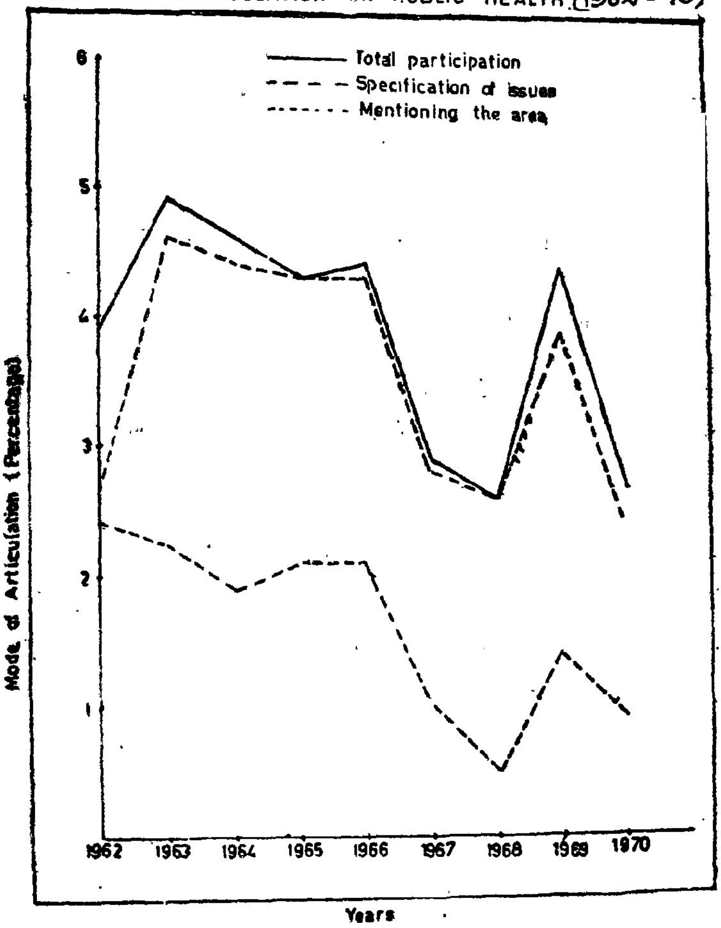
Mode of Articulation on Educational Issues in the Legislative Assembly 1962-1970

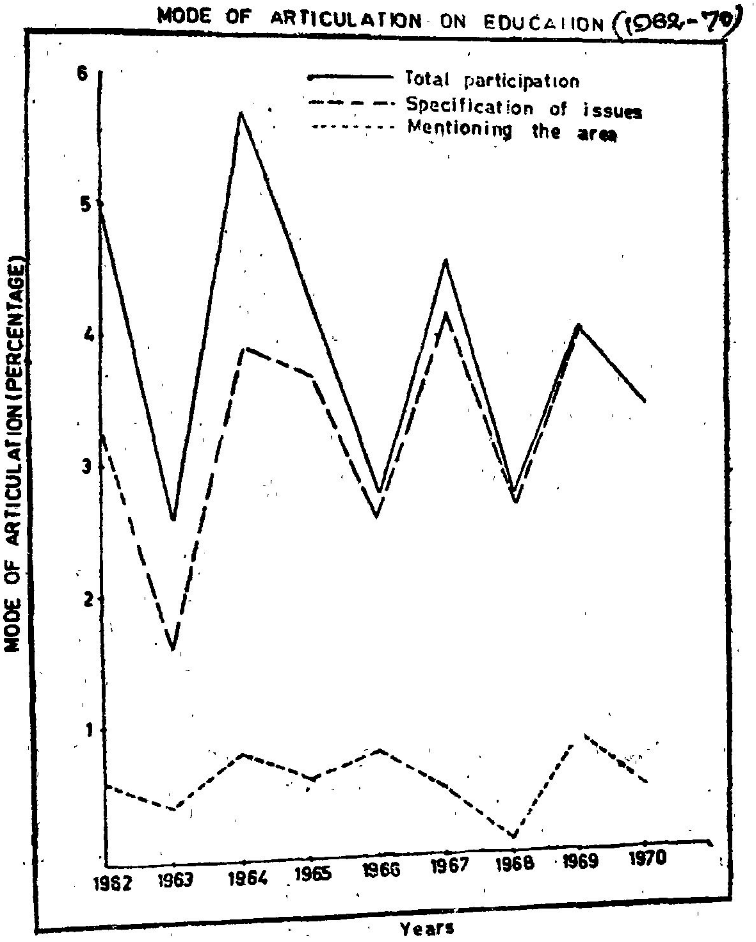
S. No.	Issues	Mode of Articulation																										
		1962			1963			1964			1965			1966			1967			1968			1969			1970		
		TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P	TP	S	P
1	Primary Education	25	16	03	09	06	02	11	09	00	11	11	00	05	05	01	06	05	01	06	05	00	05	05	00	02	02	00
2	Secondary Education	12	05	01	15	05	01	31	25	01	06	05	01	04	04	02	03	02	00	—	—	—	02	02	01	—	—	—
3	Collegiate Education	14	12	04	14	10	04	31	20	12	17	15	06	14	11	07	42	36	09	09	09	03	20	20	07	10	10	10
4	Facilities in Educational Institutions	09	04	00	04	03	01	11	09	00	05	05	00	15	15	02	07	07	00	08	08	00	06	06	02	04	04	00
5	Pattern of Education	10	05	00	03	02	00	15	10	01	08	07	00	05	05	00	14	14	00	13	13	00	09	09	00	13	13	00

6 Students' Problems	16	14	01	02	02	00	16	12	04	42	35	04	05	05	02	02	02	00	05	05	00	08	08	03	05	05	01
7 Teachers' Problem	08	06	02	12	08	02	15	07	00	09	08	02	11	11	02	16	16	00	17	17	00	11	11	00	28	28	04
Total ...	94	62	11	59	36	10	130	92	18	98	86	13	59	56	16	90	82	10	58	57	03	61	61	13	62	62	09
Average	13.4	8.2	1 6	8.4	5.1	1.4	18.6	13.1	2.6	14.0	12.3	1.9	8.4	8.0	2.3	12.9	11,7	1.4	8.3	8.1	0.4	8.7	8.7	1.9	8.9	8.9	1.3
Percentage ...	4.9	3.2	0.6	2 6	1 6	0.4	5.7	3.9	0.5	4.2	3.7	0.6	2.8	2.6	0.8	4.6	4.2	0.5	2.8	2.7	0.1	4.1	4.1	0.9	3.5	3.5	0.5

Source: Computed from the *Madras (Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1962–70*

MODE OF ARTICULATION ON PUBLIC HEALTH (1962 - 70)





MODE OF ARTICULATION ON EDUCATION (1962-70)
Total participation
Specification of issues
Mentioning the area
6
5
4
3
2
1
MODE OF ARTICULATION (PERCENTAGE)
1962
1963
1964
1965
1966
1967
1968
1969
1970
Years

The third level analysis is the form of the representation. Forms of representation which are available in the constitution are taken as unit of analysis. Normally articulations are made through regular discussions, if members want to create more pressure or to highlight the importance of the Problems, members select special forms to represent thei demands. The forms like adjournment motions, calling attentions, no confidence motions, censure motions, half an hour discussion, etc., which exert pressure on the government, have not been frequently used. Over a period of nine years the members moved twenty three calling attentions each on Public health and education and three adjournment motions on Public health and twenty adjournment motions on education. None represented the Public health problems in the no confidence motions which were moved during that period. Very few members referred to the problems with regard to education by taking part in the no confidence motions. So the members had not exerted pressure through the effective forms of representation available to them.

Thus the strength of participation lies between 3.9% and 18.9% on Public health and 12.4% and 36.6% on education from 1962 to 1970 and the mode of articulation reduced the strength of participation from 3.9% to 0.9% and from 18.9% to 2.3% on Public health and on education, 12.4% to 0.1% and from 36.6% to 0.8% Even with regard to questions the members' participation ranges between 7.37% and 12.21% from 1962 to 1970 on education and from 3.84% and 9.75% on Public health. For the whole period the intensity of representation on Public health comes to 137 points and on education to 226 points in the intensity scale and this is deemed as low intensity of representation. Hence, even on the two important subjects, namely, education and Public health, members in the Legislative Assembly evinced poor interest in articulating the demands of the people.

The main hypothesis of this study covers the relationship between the two variables representation (Input) and response (Output) which is tested at two levels. At the first level the above mentioned hypothesis is tested in correlating the numerical strength of participation in the Legislative Assembly with the money allocation made in the Legislative Assembly for the two issues. In the second level, the content of the demands on each issue is related with the output of the same department every year. Tables 29 and 30 explain the relationship between the participation of members and the money allocation on Public health and education from 1962 to 1970 for which correlation has been worked out. On Public health r = − .15 and on education r = 0.084 which are found to be not significant. There is no relationship between the strength of participation and money allocation.

The second level of relationship is between the representation and the response with regard to the different issues of Public health.

Protected Water Supply and Sanitation

When relating the performance of the political parties with the response of the authorities in allocating values on protected Water Supply and Sanitation, the highest percentage of representation, 15. 8 % was recorded in 1966 and the lowest allocation of Rs. 89. 97 lakhs was made in the same year The lowest participation on Water Supply and Sanitation recorded was 5. 62 % for which the highest allocation of money Rs. 1920. 20 lakhs was made in 1970. It is obvious that high percentage of demands from the members has not evoked a matching positive response from the government. Generally the government had adopted a policy of providing water supply to cities, towns and villages for

TABLE–29

Total Representation And Money Allocation On Public Health (1962-1970)

S.No.	Year	Total percentage of participation	Total percentage of money allocation
1	1962	15.1	7.34
2	1963	18.9	7.67
3	1964	11.2	7.61
4	1965	11.1	7.74
5	1966	15.6	8.22
6	1967	08.1	7.70
7	1968	04.4	7.57
8	1969	08.9	7.83
9	1970	05.7	8.26

Source: Computed from the *Madras* (*Tamil Nadu*) *Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1962-1970.*

REPRESENTATION AND MONEY ALLOCATION ON PUBLIC HEALTH (1962-70)

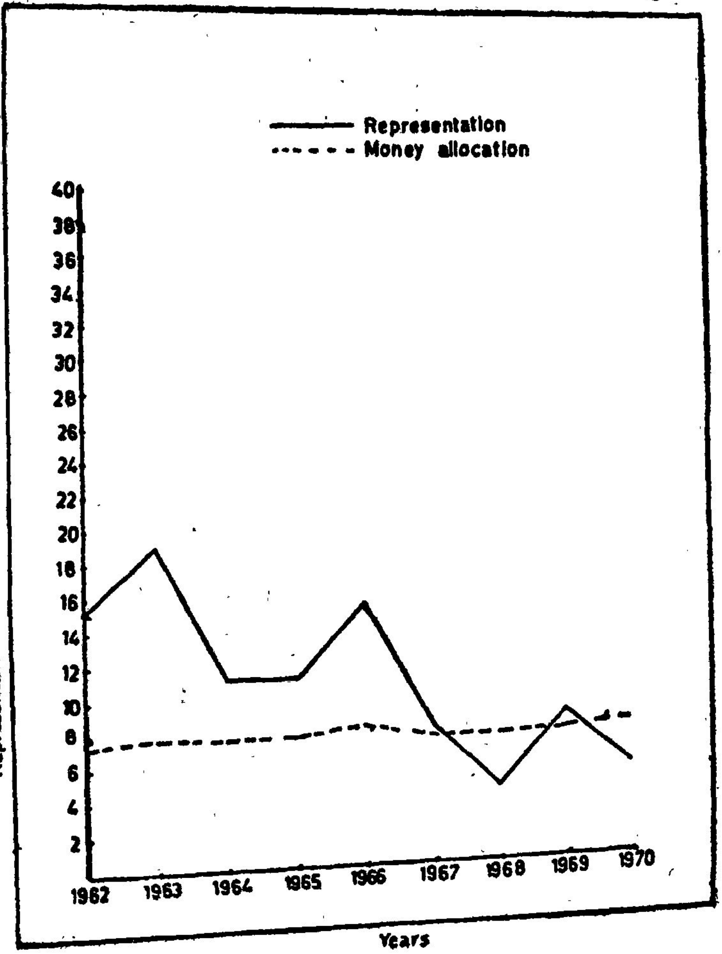


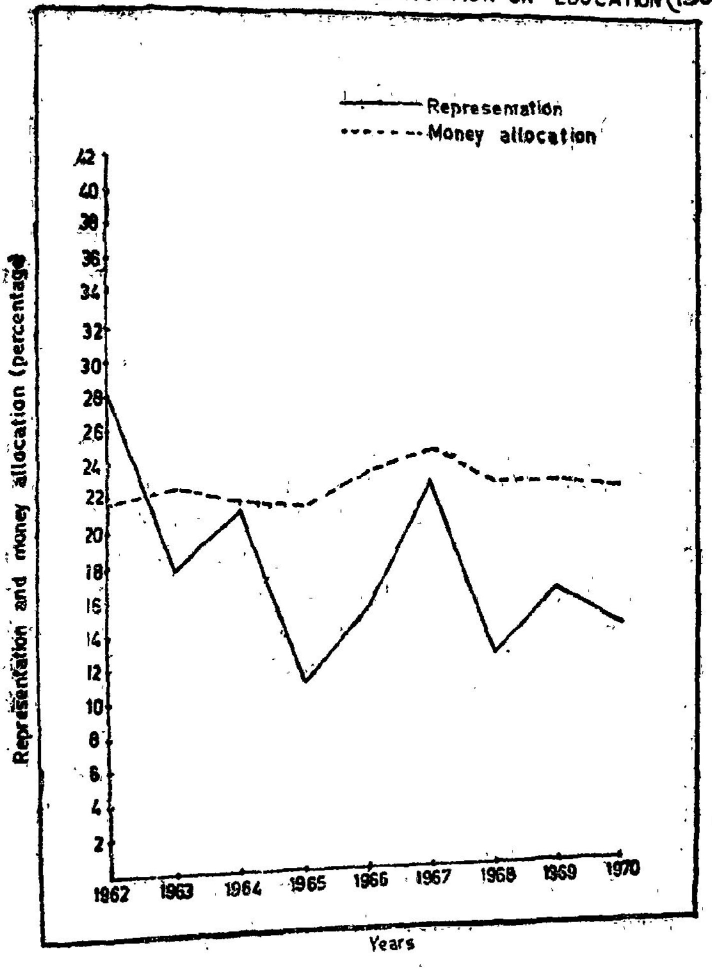
TABLE-30

Total Representation and Money Allocation of Education (1962-1970)

S.No.	Year	Total percentage of participation	Total Percentage of money allocation
1	1962	28.1	21.70
2	1963	17.9	22.57
3	1964	21.2	21.82
4	1965	11.1	21.64
5	1966	15.5	23.51
6	1967	22.9	24.85
7	1968	12.4	22.73
8	1969	16.3	22.91
9	1970	14.0	22.50

Source: Computed from the *Madras (Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly Debates Official Reports 1962-1970*.

REPRESENTATION AND MONEY ALLOCATION ON EDUCATION (1962-70)



which schemes had been chalked out and the works had been carried out in a phased manner.[2] Priority was given on the basis of necessity. To all the demands for water supply the Minister for Public health gave the reply that the problems of water supply would be solved very soon.[3] Hence the steps taken by the government for providing water supply facilities were not the result of the representation of the members alone. The Government was sanctioning programmes for water supply every year. Most of the members had not represented the problems of sanitation, but the government took several steps to maintain sanitation.[4] So there is no strong relationship between the representation and the response.

Outbreak of Epidemics

Since the outbreak of epidemics was a sensitive issue discussed in the Legislative Assembly, as soon as the attacks and deaths were reported, the departments concerned launched relief work. Regarding this, irrespective of whether the members participated or not, the department concerned worked continuously and performed its tasks.[5] Normally members used to criticise the government only during the period when more deaths were reported' More deaths (835) were reported only in 1963 - the first period. In 1970 (65) in the second period. But the representation recorded was not proportionate to the number of deaths reported. In 1963 less participation was recorded. Likewise no representation was recorded in the year 1970. Irrespectiive of the demands, the concerned department took steps to ameliorate the condition.[6] Thus there was no scope for establishing the relationship between the members' representation and the response of the authorities.

Primary Health Care

Despite the importance of maternity centres, nutrition and child welfare, especially for rural people, these were not demanded by the members. The highest participation of 4 98 % on this issue was recorded in 1965 and the highest allocation of money 13. 02 % lakhs was sanctioned in 1962. It was also proposed to start 40 primary health centres in 1962.[7] The lowest participation of 2. 01 % was recorded in 1970 and the lowest number of primary health centres was sanctioned in 1963.[8] Likewise for facilities in Primary health centres the highest representation of 4. 98 % was recorded in 1965 but more building facilities and increased medicinal and other facilities were provided in the primary health centres only during 1969-70.[9] Whenever the government wanted to introduce, or withdraw any policy, they did not consider the views of the legislators. For instance, it was announced that one primary health centre was to be established in each Panchayat Union.[10] Again this policy was deferred abruptly eventhough there were persistent demands in the Legislative Assembly for more primary health centres[11] Even without the continuous demand from the legislators, maternity centres were started. Nutrition survey was conducted and medical check-up immunization and vaccination of children were carried out.[12] Hence there is no strong relationship between the demands of the legislators and the response of the authorities.

Food adulteration and Drug Control

The participation of political parties on this issue varied widely. From 1962 to 1970 the participation range varied from 0.80% to 4 63%. But in almost all the years the same proportion of samples was taken for analysis and the report showed that 25% to 27% of the cases were found adulterated.

The government department concerned performed the above task in a routine manner irrespective of the demands of the legislators.[13] From 1962 to 1965 members continuously demanded immediate steps to put an end to food adulteration, but the government had not responded to the above demands. In the year 1966, the adulteration percentage came down to 23%[14] and in this year the government constituted a standing advisory committee for prevention of food adulteration.[15] Members in the Legislative Assembly demanded adequate supply of drugs to the hospitals and requested the government to maintain the quality of the drugs. These demands were answered by the Minister for Public health who stated that medicines that were supplied to the hospitals were adequate and of good quality.[16] The Government had been issuing licences for drug production and sales every year[17] Whatever the demands the members made in the Legislative Assembly, the government had not positively responded. The members placed a serious of demands but these were not conceded to and the government itself announced and carried out several measures in this regard. Hence there is no strong relationship between the representation and the response.

Leprosy and Tuberculosis

Generally the legislators' representation on the issues of tuberculosis and leprosy was very poor and it ranged between 0 46 and 3 12%. On leprosy a few members made only a passing reference in the course of the discussions but more members participated in the discussion on tuberculosis and demanded more facilities to the tuberculosis sanitoriums. In contrast, the government paid much attention to providing facilities to the leprosy control units. Every year leprosy control units were started and even a leprosy

hospital was also proposed to be started in Madras. Effective medical check-up was arranged to find out the leprosy symptoms in people.[18] The members demanded more facilities to T. B. sanitoriums but government started a new T. B. sanitorium at a time when the members did not demand the same. Likewise the members demanded facilities to leprosy control units but the government sanctioned new leprosy control units.[19] Thus the representations and response did not at any time meet as one did not correspond to the other.

Indigenous and Homeopathy Medical System

Regarding Indigenous and homeopathy medical systems, legislators made continuous representations except in 1967. Their represen'a'ions were, however, very poor. It ranges between 0. 40 % and 2. 43 %. The members mostly requested the government to give importance to Indigenous medical system. But those demands were not conceded by the authorities. The authorities took the decision to start a new college of Indian Medicine in 1962 and hospital at Arukampakkam near Madras in 1965 and Sidha wings in all the hospitals in 1969-70[20] The government interest in indigenous and hom opathy medical system was not in response to the demands of the representatives. More representation, 2. 43 % was recorded on this issue in the year 1964 but no improvement was recorded in that year. Hence there is no substantial relationship between the demands of the representatives and the response of the authorities.

Hospital Facilities

The Legislators demanded bed facilities for the headquarters hospitals and local hospitals from 1962 to 1970. The Government had also sanctioned beds every year from 1962 to 1970[21] The members demanded more hospitals for their constituencies. The authorities had sanctioned hospitals

at eleven places.[22] Regarding other facilities the members demanded X-ray plants, Steam laundry, air-conditioned operation theatre and artificial limp centre for Maduai, Madras, Tiruchendur and Salem hospitals. Government sanctioned X-ray plant to a number of hospitals though the members had not demanded such facilities. The members had demanded[23] the same facility to some of the hospitals which the government did not sanction. Regarding the members' demand for bed facilities and increasing the number of hospitals in their respective constituencies they were not specific in their demands. The Government had continuously sanctioned bed facilities and increased the number of hospitals by establishing new hospitals in different places. On this issue there may be some relationship between the members' demands and the authorities' response. The Places which were found in the response list of the authorities for offering facilities and creating new hospitals could be found in the legislators' demands list. It is therefore difficult to rule out the possibility of the relationship between the representations and the response. With regard to the other facilities, the members demanded certain facilities to Madurai, Salem, Coimbatore and Thiruchendur hospitals but the authorities sanctioned X ray plant at many places other than the places where the members demanded such facilities. On this specific issue there is no relationship between the representation and the response. On certain issues regarding hospital facilities, there is scope for establishing relationship between the representation and the response but on other issues regarding the same hospital facilities there is no such scope. Hence it may be said that in certain cases there has been a happy coincidence of members' demands and the response of the authorities.

Medical Personnels

Regarding the legislators' demand for appointing adequate number of doctors in the hospitals, the Minister for Public health stated that due to the paucity of doctors, the government was not able to appoint the required number of doctors in the hospitals.[24] Another demand of the members was to increase the salary and to provide more facilities to the doctors. In regard to this demand the minister for Public health replied that the doctors' salary was fair and hence there was no need for revising it.[25] Further the members urged the government to send doctors to rural areas and to abolish private practice by the doctors. The minister for Public health said in this context that the government was giving Rs. 50/- as compensatory allowance to the doctors who were working in the rural areas to attract the doctors to rural service and beyond that government had no right to compel the doctors to serve in the rural areas. He curtly stated that government was not able to abolish private practice because it had no capacity to absorb all of them in the government service.[26] Thus the Minister for Public Health in his reply nagatived all the demands. There were variations in the demands of the representations on this issue during the period 1962 to 1970, but it had not evoked any response from the authorities. So there is no substantial relationship between the members' demands and the response of the authorities.

Medical Education

Regarding medical education members demand starting of medical colleges in Coimbatore, Chengleput, Salem, Chidambaram, Thirunelveli and Tiruchirapalli. The representation varied from 0. 74 % to 4 73 % from 1962 to 19,0. It was proposed to open two medical colleges one at Coingleput and another at Tirunelveli. It is to be noted that the maximum represen-

tation was recorded on this issue in 1964 but the decision for starting colleges was announced in 1963. The other places where the members demanded medical colleges were not considered.

Further the members demanded from 1962 to 1970 that government should increase the seats in the medical colleges. In 1963 it was proposed to increase the seats from 600 to 700 in the medical colleges whether the members demanded or not. The government did not consider the demands of the members and whenever it felt necessary it announced its decision. Generally the members in almost all the years accused the government that medical college admissions were not done on the basis of merit and there was corruption in the admissions. For this charge, the minister for Public health replied that admission in medical colleges was done fairly.[27] For the demand of enhancing the stipend from Rs. 97 to Rs. 100, the Minister for Public Health answered in the Legislative Assembly in 1962 that it was not permissible to enhance the stipend but in 1965 the Minister again stated that government would consider the proposal of enhancing the stipend of the House Surgeons.[28] Hence, there was no sufficient scope to establish the relationship between the representation and the response. On all the issues in Public health excepting the issue of hospital facilities and medical education, there was no substantial relationship between the demands of the representatives and the response of the authorities. On the issues of hospital facilities and medical education there were some coincidence of relationship between the representations and response of the authorities.

EDUCATION

Primary Education

Though there were variations in the representations of the members on primary education, the policies and perfor-

mance of the government did not vary in relation to the demands of the representatives. The participation of the members in the discussions varied from 0.78% to 9.19%. The highest participation of 9.19% was recorded in the year 1962 and in the same year the lowest number of primary schools (29,000) functioned in the state and lowest number of students studied (42,26,820) and were fed under the mid-day meal (13,08,650) scheme.[29] The lowest participation 0.78% was recorded in 1970, and in the same year the highest number of schools functioned (31881), with the highest number of students (646300) in the schools and were fed under the mid-day meal scheme (18 lakhs).[30] Generally, the members demanded more primary schools and indicated the defects and lapses in the mid-day meal scheme. In reply in this demand the Minister for education stated that the defects in the mid-day meal scheme would be rectified.[31] Another demand of the members was the take over of the Panchayat Union Schools by the Government. It was not responded to by the authorities. Hence on primary education, the government had a very firm and steady policy and it executed it gradually whether the members demanded it or not. So there is no substantial relationship between the demands of the representatives and the response of the authorities on this issue.

Secondary Education

Regarding Secondary Education, members demanded more number of secondary schools in the first period (from 1962 to 1966) and asked for more number of training schools in the the second period (from 1967 to 1970). The participation range varied from 0.93% to 9.45%. The government opened more schools every year. More representation was recorded only in the year 1964 whereas the highest number of 219 new schools were started in 1962.[32] Regarding the take

over of the Board High Schools there was no positive response from the authorities. There was no demand from the members for the administrative reorganisation and free education upto secondary education but the government had reorganised the secondary education and announced the policy of free education upto secondary education[33] Thus there was no substantial relationship that could be found between the representation of the legislators and the response of the authorities.

Collegiate Education

Members pressured the government into starting colleges in twenty seven places.[34] The policy of the government with regard to collegiate education was to meet the immediate demand for starting colleges giving opportunities of higher education to all sections of people.[35] During this period from 1962 to 1970 the government had started 34 colleges and private managements 60 colleges in Tamil Nadu.[36] The members in the Legislative Assembly insisted on the government starting new colleges; but most colleges were started by private managements. Further most of the places indicated by the members for starting colleges, received attention and colleges were started mostly by private managements in all those places excepting Arni, Pattukkottai, Darapuram, Aranthangi and Bhuvanagiri. So the response came not from the government but from the private managements. In some other places like Mayuram, Cheyyar, Thirupathur, Melvisharam, Nagamalai, Agastheeswaram, Ponneri and Dharmapuri colleges were started but members had not demanded starting of colleges in all these areas. The participation of members in the discussions on this issue ranged between 3.07% and 15.11%. More number of colleges (19) were started in 1970 but more percentage of participation (15.11%) was recorded on this issue in 1967.

Though there were some accidental meetings of the respresentations and the response, it cannot be intrepreted that these colleges were started in response to the demands of the representations because most of the colleges were started by the private managements. Only five members in the whole period demanded starting of engineering colleges and polytechnics [37] During that period two engineering colleges and ten polytechnics were started. Regarding the amendment of the Universities Act there was no response from the government So there is not much scope to relate the representations of the members and the response of the government on this issue.

Facilities in Educational Institutions

From 1962 to 1970 members demanded building facilities, laboratory and library facilities for the schools. But the members did not pay the same attention to the lack of facilities in colleges, as is evidenced by their speeches. The Government concentrated its attention mainly on admitting the highest number of children in the schools and they were not much concerned about the facilities in the educational institutions. The Minister for education stated that buildings were not constructed due to paucity of finance [38] Regarding the library and laboratory facilities, the members were persistent and the government had announced a crash programme during 1964–65 and 1965 66 by which libraries in 100 schools were improved [39] During 1969-71, CARE took efforts to provide mobile laboratory services to the schools.[40] The highest participation of 5.07% was recorded in 1966 but in the same year there was no improvement with regard to the facilities. If the government wanted to implement any policy, it was inclined to do so whether the members demanded or not. So the legislators' representa-

tions had no impact on the authorities' decisions and allocations.

Pattern of Education

The legislators focused their attention only on the school education. They expressed their concern over the falling standard of education. The members were worried about the low standard of education and the Minister for education replied that the standard of education was not falling,[41] and added that with a view to improving the standards, the school improvement conferences were held and qualified teachers alone were appointed.[42] Likewise the members demanded that the government change the syllabus but they did not mention the type of change they wanted. But there was no change till 1966 in the syllabus pattern and only in 1967 and 1969 the syllabus of schools was revised and Tamil medium of instruction was introduced.[43] Irrespective of the members' demands the government acted according to its own programme. On these two issues the government took some positive steps. But the main question is, whether the steps taken by the government could be deemed as the response of the authorities to the representations made by the members. The government was going steadfast in its policies irrespective of the fact whether there was any plea or not on the part of members. So the scope for establishing the relationship between the representations of the members and the response of the authorities is minimum.

The Students' Problems

From 1962 to 1966 members asked the government to increase the income limit of Rs. 1500 to Rs. 2500 or to Rs. 4000 for granting scholarships and requested the government to give stipend to the students who were under-

going training in the training institutes. But the authorities did not pay heed to these demands. Another important fact to be noted here is that the discussion on the issue of increasing the income limit from Rs. 1200 to Rs. 1500 in the year 1962.[44] Like this, the members in the Legislative Assembly wanted an increase in the number of scholarships awarded to the students. This demand was aired from 1964 when the national scholarship was announced in the legislature in 1964.[45] Thus, the members' demands originated from the concessions given by the government. In connection with other demands like hostel facilities to the students, scholarship to all sections of the people and students' indiscipline, the government had not responded. Thus totally the decisions, policies and programmes of the government were not influenced by the representations of the legislators.

Teachers' Problems

The legislators continued to request the government to appoint more number of teachers, regularise the services of the teachers, increase their salary, provide adequate facilities to the teachers, make direct payment to the teachers of the private management schools and not to transfer the panchayat union school teachers arbitrarily and to implement UGC pay scales to the college teachers. The government took steps to reduce the dearth of teachers in the schools by starting more teacher training schools[46] and to provide housing facilities. In 1970, as a first step, a teachers' home was started in Vellore.[47] Apart from this, for all those demands the Minister replied that steps would be taken to solve all the problems of the teachers.[48] There was no substantial relationship between the demands of the representatives and the response of the authorities.

Thus with respect to all the issues of education except in respect of collegiate education there was no scope for establishing the relationship between the representations of the legislators and the response of the authorities. To some extent, the relationship between the representation of the legislators and the response of the government could be established on a few issues namely hospital facilities, medical education and collegiate education. But at the same time it cannot be stated that there is absolutely no relationship between the demands of the representatives and response of the authorities. Hence generally the relationship between the representations and response is not established and it gives much scope for ruling out the possibility of relationship between the input and the output.

It is important to ask in this context why did the authorities ignore the views of the representatives in a democratic set up. But it is a separate study by itself. However, it can be argued on the basis of observation that in the indian legislative system, the party in power has control over its members. When the question of voting comes, the members are asked to comply with the party's policies and this one has to do even without considering his own demands and some times has to vote against his own demands as well.

Regarding the behaviour of opposition, the main opposition party represented more problems and participated in all the discussions in the Legislative Assembly. Further to exert pressure on the government, the main opposition party creates opportunities for discussions by which it exposes the governmet. In this study it is important to note that the ruling party turned out to be an opposition and the opposition turned out to be a ruling party during the period of study. Another important feature is that

both the parties while in opposition had the same strength of 50 members in the Legislative Assembly. When Congress was the ruling party having a strength of 139 members in the Legislative Assembly, the DMK was the main opposition having the strength of 50 from 1962 to 1966. When the DMK was the ruling party having the strength of 138 members, the Congress party was the main opposition having the strength of 50 members in the Legislative Assembly from 1967 to 1970. During the two periods representations of the main opposition party are discussed here. From 1962 to 1966, on public health issues the main opposition party DMK recorded its average participation of 6.66% whereas the ruling Congress party recorded its average participation of 3 98%. Likewise on education during the same period, the DMK the main opposition, recorded 8.24% of participation and the Congress recorded 6.74% of participation. From 1967 to 1970, on public health, Congress party, the main opposition, recorded 2 1% of participation and the DMK, the ruling party recorded 0.68% of participation. In the same manner on education the Congress party recorded 6 44% of participation and the DMK, the ruling party, recorded 2 21% of participation. So it is obvious that in the discussions held during the two periods the main opposition party took more interest in articulating the demands of the people in proportion to their strength in the Legislative Assembly. When the Congress party was ruling, the main opposition took more interest in participating in the discussions on the two issues and when the DMK was the ruling party, the Congress party the main opposition, took such interest in those matters. On questions when Congress was the ruling party the DMK party asked 46.3% of questions on public health and 45 9% on education whereas the Congress, the ruling party asked 26.9% of questions on public health and 31.7% of questions

on education. During the first period from 1962 to 1966 the main opposition party asked more number of questions on both the issues than the ruling party. When DMK was the ruling party, the main opposition asked 32.0% of questions on public health and 40.6% of questions on education and the ruling DMK asked 34.1% of questions on public health and 29.3% of questions on education. In the second period the main opposition asked more number of questions on the issues of education alone. On adjournment motions and calling attentions, the main opposition DMK in the first period moved six calling attentions and the ruling party moved only one adjournment motion on public health. On education the DMK moved six calling attentions and seven adjournment motions and the ruling party moved one calling attention and one adjournment motion. In the second period the main opposition Congress had not moved adjournment motion or calling attention on public health but on the subject the ruling DMK moved nine calling attentions. On education the Congress party moved five calling attentions and two adjournment motions and the ruling DMK moved two adjournment motions. It was very clear that on the issues of education the opposition parties tried to bring more pressure through calling attentions and adjournment motions than the ruling party. But it was not so in the case of public health.

In the discussions the main opposition party took more interest in representing the problems than the ruling party. On questions, calling attentions and adjournment motions to some extent the main opposition tried to articulate more demands than the ruling party. Leaving out the deviation, in total perspective, the opposition showed much interest in articulating the demands with regard to public health and education. Among the two parties, the DMK as the main

opposition evinced more interest than the Congress party as the main opposition.

From the above evaluation of the representations of the legislators and the response of the authorities, it could be observed that the political parties were not able to exert heavy pressure or influence in the authoritative body through representations (Input) on the issues of public health and education. The representations made in the Legislative Assembly on the two issues were poor in strength, weak in content and ineffective in form. Since the representation was weak, it did not influence the output of the government on the issues concerned. So there was no sufficient scope to establish any substantial relationship between the representations and the response. The main opposition party evinced much interest in participating in the discussions using more effective forms to articulate the demands than the ruling party.

Notes:

1. See above pp. 43, 160.
2. See above pp. 102–104.
3. See above pp. 205–206.
4. See above pp. 102-103.
5. See above pp. 105-106; 206-207.
6. See above pp. 105-106; 206-207.
7. See above p. 106.
8. See above p. 107.
9. See above p. 208.
10. Minister for public health *T.L.A. Deb.*, 1968 Vol. 10 No. 4, p. 458.

11. See above p. 106.
12. See above pp. 106-108; 207-208.
13. See above pp. 108-110; 208-209.
14. See above p. 109.
15. See above p. 109.
16. See above p. 110.
17. See above pp. 108-110; 208-209.
18. See above pp. 110-111; 209-210.
19. See above pp. 110-111; 209 210.
20. See above p. 210.
21. See above pp. 112-113; 210-212.
22. South Madras, Polur, Vandiwash, Pulliyadi, Uppli-palayam Pamangudi, Malandiyapalayam, Sendurai, Pongalur, Ayyampatti and Madhavaram, See above p. 113.
23. See above pp. 64-65; 175-176.
24. See above pp. 113, 212.
25. See above p. 114.
26. See above p. 114.
27. See above p. 213.
28. See above p. 116.
29. See above p. 117.
30. See above p. 215.
31. See above p. 117.
32. See above p. 119.
33. See above p. 119.
34. Kanyakumari, Salem, Arni, Vilavancode, Coimbatore, Cuddalore, Thirukkoilur, Thiruvannamalai, Madras, Ariyalur Nanguneri, Tirunelveli, Vriddhachalam, Vellur, Hosur, Namakkal, Thiruchendur, Madurai, Nilgiri,

Bhuvanagiri, Chingleput, Dharapuram, Pattukkottai, Pollachi, Thanjavur, Thiruchirapalli and Aranthangi.

35. Government of Madras, *Madras State Administration Report 1965* (Madras: Government of Madras Publication, 1966), p. 169.

36. See above pp. 120–122; 216.

37. See above p. 85

38. *T.L A.Deb.*, 1970, Vol. 27, No. 3, p. 350.

39. See above p 123.

40. See above p. 217.

41. *T.L.A.Deb.*, 1967, Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 444.

42. See above p. 124.

43. See above p. 218.

44. See above p. 125.

45. See above p. 125.

46. See above p. 126.

47. See above p. 219.

48. See above p. 219.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The present study has analysed the performance of the political parties in the Legislative Assembly on the issues of public health and education. This study is limited to the period from 1962 to 1970 to give a comparative picture of the performance of the two political parties in the two periods (Congress Ministry from 1962 to 1966 and DMK Ministry from 1967 to 1970). Further this work analyses the relationship between the legislators' articulation (Input) and the response of the authorities (Output) in the Legislative Assembly.

As observed from the tables and discussions, the performance of the political parties on the two issues - public health and education has been minimum. The political parties evinced very poor interest in articulating the demands with regard to public health and education. On public health the participation reached a maximum of 18.90% and a minimum of 3.90% and on education the participation recorded a maximum of 26.60% and a minimum of 12.4% during the nine year period from 1962 to 1970. Further this poor representation is analysed through a tool 'Styles of articulation' developed by Almond and Powell. The representation on both issues dwindled down from the total participation to the specific and particular participation. Among the members who participated in the discussions, a majority of them had not specified the issue and mentioned the area. Form of articulation is another important factor

in representation. There are many forms available to exert pressure on the government. But the members of political parties in the Legislative Assembly had not availed themselves of all the opportunities. The problems pertaining to public health and education were articulated mostly through regular discussions. So the members had not intensified the representation. On public health and education only a limited number of calling attentions and adjournment motions were moved. Thus the political parties had not evinced much interest in articulating the demands on the above mentioned two issues.

Intensity of representation is yet another important factor in exerting pressure on the government. With regard to both the issues, the members had not intensified the representation to exert pressure on the government. Low intensity of representation resulted from the discussions on all the issues of public health and education. In the intensity scale, the low intensity ranged between 0-50 points for a year. For the whole term the intensity of representation had not reached 50 points. A maximum of 41.5 points were recorded on water supply and sanitation and a minimum of 2 points were recorded on indigenous and homeopathy medical system. Thus low intensity of representation was recorded on the issues of public health and education

Regarding the relationship between the representations of the legislators and the response of the government, it is found that there was no substantial relationship between them. Members of political parties in the Legislative Assembly demanded facilities relating to public health and education. But, excepting a few, most of the demands were not responded to by the authorities. A few demands which were raised by the members in the Legislative Assembly, had

been fulfilled by the authorities. This does not mean that the authorities had responded to the demands. In reality, the demands raised by the members had already been in the government's priority list. Hence no substantial relationship could be established between the members' demands and the government's response.

Of the two issues - public health and education - members of political parties assigned a greater importance to matters relating to education than to those relating to public health issues during both the periods under discussion.

Among the political parties, the Congress party and the DMK acted as ruling as well as main opposition in the Legislative Assembly. As a ruling party, the Congress party's performance in the discussions was more than the performance of the DMK as a ruling party. When the Congress party was in power, it recorded 3.98% of participation on public health and 6.74% of participation on education. When the DMK was in power it recorded 0.68% of participation on public health and 2.21% of participation on education. In using the effective forms like calling attentions and adjournment motions, the DMK as a ruling party performed much better than the Congress party. As a ruling party the DMK moved nine calling attentions and two adjournment motions over the issues of public health and education. In asking questions as a ruling party, both the Congress and the DMK performed equally well. As the ruling party the Congress asked more questions (31.7%) than DMK (29.9%) on the issues of education. Likewise the DMK as a ruling party asked more questions (34.1%) than the Congress party (26.9%) on the issues of public health. As the ruling party both the Congress party and the DMK performed equally well.

As the main opposition, the DMK's performance during the discussions was better than that of the Congress party. The DMK recorded 6.66% of participation on public health and 8.24% of participation on education and the Congress party recorded 2.1% of participation on public health and 6.44% on education. The DMK as a main opposition party moved more number of calling attentions and adjournment motions than the Congress party. The DMK moved twelve calling attentions and seven adjournment motions and the Congress moved five calling attentions and two adjournment motions on the issues of public health and education. Even in asking questions as the main opposition the DMK asked more number of questions than the Congress party. It asked 46.3% of questions on public health, 45.9% of questions on education with the Congress asked 32% of questions on public health and 40.6% of questions on education. Thus the DMK as the main opposition performed better than the Congress party as the main opposition. From the analysis and discussion, it is observed that the Congress as the ruling party performed much better than the main opposition and the DMK as the main opposition performed more satisfactorily than the ruling party on the two issues.

Among the parties other than the Congress and the DMK, the participation of the Swatantra party members was substantial in the discussions. But their participation was more on public health issues than on the issues of education. This party also moved calling attentions and adjournment motions only during the second period. On questions the Swatantra party's share was less than that of the Communist party of India and the Communist party of India in the first period and the Communist party of India (Marxist) in the second period participated more in the discussions than other parties. But on questions, calling attentions,

adjournment motions and resolutions; the (Communist party of India and the Communist party of India (Marxist) performed better than the Swatantra party and the other parties. The other parties, - Socialist party, Praja Socialist party, Samyuktha Socialist party, Forward Block, Muslim League, Republican party, and Tamilarasukkazhagam - participated intermittently in the discussions. During the first period the Independent members contributed substantially during the discussion hour but they failed to live up to expectations during the second period.

Apart from this, some general observations are recorded, based on this study. First, the participation declined from the first period to the second period. The maximum representation was recorded on both issues only during the first period of the study from 1962 to 1966 when the Congress Ministry was in power. The minimum representation was recorded during the second period of the study from 1967 to 1970 when the DMK was in poor. The members who represented public health and educational problems had not discussed all aspects of those issues. A few points alone were repeatedly raised in the Legislative Assembly. There was no sufficient policy-oriented discussion in the Legislative Assembly on the issues of public health and education.

A high percentage of representation was recorded only during the years when new policies were introduced. The high percentage of representation did not denote any thorough evaluation of the policies. But it came up only due to the general appreciation and criticism of the policies attempted by the members.

Another important observation is that during the first period of the study (from 1962 to 1966) both the ruling Congress party members and the main opposition DMK

party members expressed their views which were beyond the control of the party whips. When the Congress was the ruling party, members from the same party criticised some of the measures like mid day meal scheme launched by the government. Normally measures taken up by the government are supported by the ruling party members. But in the case of a few issues it was not so. Likewise, from the DMK, the main opposition party, a group of members continuously opposed all the measures introduced in the Legislative Assembly. A few members of the same party supported the government on a few issues. This type of behaviour existed till 1966. After 1967 the members of the two parties (Congress and DMK) were bent upon stoutly supporting their own party's stand.

Thus the representation of political parties on the issues of public health and education was minimum. The instensity of the representation was also poor. There is no substantial relationship between the representation and the authoritative allocation of values. The main opposition party evinced more interest in articulating the demands of the people in connection with public health and education during both the periods. The members of political parties in the Legislative Assembly paid more attention to education than to public health. The political parties other than the Congress and the DMK, had not contributed substantially during the discussions on these two issues. As the ruling party both the Congress and DMK performed equally well and as main opposition the DMK performed better than the Congress.

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